

California Historical Society

Quarterly

	PAGE
The Last Spanish Exploration of the Northwest Coast and the Attempt to Colonize Bodega Bay.....	313
Henry R. Wagner	
The Donner Party and Relief Hill.....	347
W. W. Waggoner	
The First Mail Contract in California.....	353
Douglas S. Watson	
"California's Bantam Cock"— The Journals of Charles E. De Long, 1854-1863.....	355
(Concluded)	
Edited by Carl I. Wheat	
The Journal of Riley Root.....	396
Edward Eberstadt	
Reviews and Notices.....	406
Western History—A Check List of Publications Relating to California and the West.....	408
Compiled by Charles L. Camp	
New Members.....	412
Meetings of the Society.....	413
In Memoriam.....	414

Vol. X, No. 4
December, 1931

CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Incorporated March 6, 1886

Reorganized March 27, 1922

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

C. O. G. Miller, *President*

Robert E. Cowan, *First Vice-President*

Sidney M. Ehrman, *Second Vice-President*

E. J. Molera, *Third Vice-President*

Anson S. Blake, *Secretary and Treasurer*

Charles L. Camp	Helen Throop Pratt
Allen L. Chickering	D. Q. Troy
Frederick C. Clift	Douglas S. Watson
Templeton Crocker	Carl I. Wheat
George D. Lyman	Ernest A. Wiltsee

COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATION

Carl I. Wheat, *Chairman*

Charles L. Camp	Francis P. Farquhar
Robert E. Cowan	Stella Huntington
Templeton Crocker	Garfield D. Merner
Charles P. Cutten	Helen Throop Pratt

Douglas S. Watson

COMMITTEE ON MEMBERSHIP

Ernest A. Wiltsee, *Chairman*

Mrs. George L. Cadwalader	A. T. Leonard, Jr., M. D.
Edward F. O'Day	

COMMITTEE ON EXHIBITIONS

Douglas S. Watson, *Chairman*

Anson S. Blake	A. T. Leonard, Jr., M. D.
Frederick C. Clift	George D. Lyman, M. D.
John Howell	D. Q. Troy
Miss Elizabeth W. Latham	Mrs. Francis Williams

Ernest A. Wiltsee

COMMITTEE ON MARKING AND NOMENCLATURE OF HISTORIC SITES

A. T. Leonard, Jr., M.D., *Chairman*

Charles L. Camp	D. Q. Troy
-----------------	------------

Office: Room 301, 609 Sutter Street, San Francisco

Corresponding Secretary: Dorothy H. Huggins

Quarterly of the California Historical Society

THE LAST SPANISH EXPLORATION OF THE NORTHWEST COAST AND THE ATTEMPT TO COLONIZE BODEGA BAY

By HENRY R. WAGNER

PART I

THE EXPEDITION OF ELIZA AND MARTINEZ Y ZAYAS

The Spanish explorations of 1791 and 1792 on the northwest coast of America had been mainly directed to a search for reported passages from the Pacific to the Atlantic. Alejandro Malaspina had ranged the Alaska coast for indications of Maldonado's Strait of Anian, Jacinto Caamaño had visited the entrance to Douglas and Grenville Channels on the British Columbia coast where James Colnett thought the Strait of Fonte began, and Dionisio Alcalá Galiano and Cayetano Valdés had examined the various inlets between the Strait of Juan de Fuca and Queen Charlotte Sound in a search for the mythical passage of Juan de Fuca. The piece of coast intervening between the scene of the explorations of Caamaño and those of Galiano and Valdés had been examined by Captain George Vancouver and he had generously given to Bodega a chart of his discoveries. If the only object of these and other Spanish expeditions to the northwest coast had been simply to search for some passage leading to the Atlantic ocean the entirely negative character of the results so far obtained would have been quite sufficient to put an end to Spanish exploration in the north. There were, however, other reasons for these voyages; one was to compile a good hydrographic chart of the region for general use.

Beginning about 1785 the Spanish government engaged in a serious endeavor to gather information for an atlas of hydrographic charts of its colonial possessions and to this end sent out numerous surveying expeditions. The work of charting the northwest coast of America was put in the hands of the department of San Blas; Malaspina's voyage to that region* was simply a digression to settle a point in controversy. Juan Francisco Bodega de la Quadra as the commandant of the department supervised the work and indeed took a great personal interest in it. By 1792 much had been accomplished and two general maps had been made which bear his name. The first was completed in the

* An account of Malaspina's voyage to the northwest coast (containing translations from *Viaje político-científico Alrededor del Mundo por las corbetas Descubierta y Atrevida, al mando de los Capitanes de navío, D. Alejandro Malaspina y Don José de Bustamante y Guerra, desde 1789 á 1794*, published by Lieutenant Don Pedro de Novo y Colson in 1885) is to be found in "Malaspina's Voyage Around the World," by Edith C. Galbraith, in this *Quarterly*, Vol. III, No. 3, Oct. 1924, pp. 215-37.

spring of 1791 to be given to Malaspina, largely as Bodega says, to prevent him from giving new names to places which had already been discovered. On his voyage south in the latter part of that year Malaspina made some astronomical observations at Nootka and Monterey which resulted in some change in the relative position of the entire coast. He attempted to adjust the position of the intermediate coast line by means of determinations for longitude by a chronometer. There is nothing in the accounts of the expedition or on Malaspina's own maps which gives evidence that some of the places had been seen. Their positions on preceding maps were simply corrected to accord with the calculated longitude established by his observations. A list of these was published by José Espinosa y Tello in 1805 in the Appendix to the *Viage hecho por las Goletas Sutil y Mexicana* and again in 1809 in his *Memorias sobre las observaciones astronómicas*.

While Bodega was in Monterey in October and November, 1792, and before he received the plans of the explorations of that year he made his second general map on which he embodied the corrected locations of Malaspina and the discoveries in the Strait of Juan de Fuca in 1791 by Francisco de Eliza. This map was especially designed to show what was still to be surveyed, and not only does it contain several legends on different parts of the coast to the effect that such had not been explored or had not been seen, but the following regions are duly listed to be examined: 1, Canal de Flores, between Alaska and Kodiak Island; 2, the piece of coast between Bering's Bay and Puerto de los Remedios; 3, the interior of Bucareli Bay and from there by way of the Canal de Fonte to the Punta de Boiset; 4, the coast from the Strait of Juan de Fuca to San Francisco. Caamaño had already carried out the work embraced in No. 3, but he discovered something which, if we can judge from Bodega's map, the Spaniards had not yet suspected, namely, the existence of a channel east of the Prince of Wales group, the present Clarence Strait. Caamaño thought this connected with the ocean at the north as it does. When his discoveries became known in Mexico a question was thus raised as to just how much of the coast north of Bucareli, and shown on Spanish maps as mainland, was mainland and how much was island.

The first two of Bodega's regions to be examined never received any serious consideration from the Spanish authorities but the fourth assumed great importance after the failure of Bodega and Vancouver to arrive at an agreement about the terms of the Nootka Sound Convention of October, 1790. This document was somewhat ambiguous in other respects than merely whether some particular plot of ground or the whole port of Nootka was to be delivered to Great Britain, sufficiently so in fact as to entertain the English with some hopes of forming establishments south of the Strait of Juan de Fuca. The viceroy, the Conde de Revilla Gigedo, wrote in April, 1793, that Vancouver had given Bodega to understand that the boundary was at San Francisco, and Bodega informed the viceroy that he had seen a map published in London in 1790 on which a boundary line was drawn just north of this place. The establishment at Neah Bay had been given up, but there was still a feeling that it should be re-established on a perma-

ment basis, or a settlement made at some other point on the northern coast. Certainly Spain did not wish to see any foreign settlement on that coast. On October 24, Bodega wrote the viceroy from Monterey arguing in favor of embarking in the fur-trading business and thus by competition with foreigners reducing their profits to such a point that they would be obliged to abandon the trade. During such operations the exploration of the unknown portion of the continent from 55° northward could be finished with little or no expense, but he added that it would be necessary to augment the Spanish fleet by swift sailing frigates of some force and to fortify the ports. This letter together with the report of Galiano and Valdés on their expedition was sent to San Blas by the *Santa Gertrudis*. This vessel reached port November 13, and in a week the correspondence was in the hands of the viceroy.

One of the particular instructions given to Galiano and Valdés by special order of the king had been to make a thorough investigation of the coast between the Strait of Juan de Fuca and San Francisco, No. 4 of Bodega's points. This they had failed to do, as had other Spanish explorers before them, even Alonso de Torres in the *Santa Gertrudis* in the same year. When ships reached this neighborhood on their return from an expedition to the north, the men were always in too much of a hurry to reach home to spend any more time on exploration. Some excuse: shortage or badness of food, sickness, contrary winds or storms, was always found. The viceroy at once sent orders to Bodega to have this piece of coast from 41° to 47° examined by a schooner with a good launch at the beginning of the next year. Bodega did not reach San Blas until February 1, 1793, where he must have received the viceroy's orders, for the *Mexicana* was fitted out for this expedition and on March 11 Juan Martínez y Zayas (usually called Zayas or Sayas to distinguish him from Estéban José Martínez) was appointed to command her by Bodega and given some simple instructions. Bodega also gave him whatever information he had bearing on the subject and told him to begin at the Strait of Juan de Fuca and not to pass anything by as far as Bodega, of which he was to make a chart in case Juan Bautista Matute had not done so. He was also to examine the river flowing into San Francisco Bay and was to depart not later than the 15th of March. Zayas nevertheless was still in port on March 24, when new orders arrived from the viceroy.

While these preparations were going on in San Blas the four officers engaged in the explorations in the Strait of Juan de Fuca in 1792 arrived in Mexico. The viceroy had in mind the recommendations of Bodega, communicated in his letter of October 24, and March 2, he requested their opinions on them. Personally, he believed that with the expeditions of 1792 all the necessary nautical information regarding those seas had been obtained. Particularly he asked — was it desirable to repeat the explorations from 50° to 60° of latitude, and if so what ports or bays should be carefully examined and what vessel or vessels would be sufficient or appropriate for the purpose? Regarding Bodega's suggestion about embarking in the fur trade he asked them what they thought about the frequent visits of foreign vessels to the coast of California, the advantage gained by their trade to

China and the harm this might do to the Spaniards, and what, if any, political or timely method they could suggest for diminishing this trade without breaking Spain's treaties with foreign countries and ruining the good relations which existed with those engaged in that commerce. To these questions, written answers were given on March 5 and 6.

Galiano was of the opinion that a new set of explorations should be undertaken northward from the point reached by the *Sutil* and *Mexicana* in 1792 without leaving the mainland, in order to determine definitely whether the parts previously examined were mainland or islands. Large ships would be necessary; schooners were too small, besides they could not carry enough small boats. This would add lustre to the Spanish name and procure for Spain some political and geographical knowledge, even though Captain Vancouver was going to continue this year his survey north from $52\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$.

Juan Vernaci could find no necessity for a more exact knowledge of that part of the coast. An expedition would entail great expense and bring the Spaniards no advantages. He suggested, however, that some explorations might be carried on by the ships which carried the annual supplies to California, but these must be commanded by officers skilled in astronomy, navigation and geography, be provided with a chronometer and other nautical instruments and be accompanied by a second in command and three pilots. These vessels could carry on trade for furs which they could obtain for copper sheets, Monterey shells and cloth.

Valdés gave an entirely adverse opinion. The Spanish explorations had been unsatisfactory but he believed that they should not be repeated. As soon as the English complete their expedition, he said, they are going to publish their maps and all civilized Europe will have the advantage of the knowledge they have obtained. The Spaniards in competing in this work could have no other object than to raise their national credit and make the world see that they were doing their part in the advancement of science. It would therefore be obligatory that the work accomplished should exceed or at least equal in character that done by the English. This was impossible; the department of San Blas, even with the most extraordinary expense could not send out an expedition which could hope to achieve the results the English would undoubtedly obtain.

Secundino de Salamanca was still more decided, if possible, in his opposition. There were no advantages to be gained, either in general, or to the Spanish nation in particular. Europe, he said, now demands some advancement in other sciences in such expeditions than mere geographical knowledge. The English will continue their survey during the present year without taking into consideration any work done by previous navigators, not even by Captain Cook. The talents of the officers, their methods and their resources, warrant a belief that they will accomplish this with that skill and usefulness characteristic of the learned nation to which they belong. The Spaniards can secure no profit to themselves from the enterprise, and will incur nothing but an expenditure of great sums for having delayed until these last years such work in the most important Spanish possessions. All the recent explorations in the north by the Spaniards have only sufficed to make

a chart of mediocre character and to furnish some useful notices to sailors. The only thing he could advise was that the vessels carrying the annual supplies might rectify the positions of some points and furnish some information about the ruling tides and winds on the coast and outside, which would either confirm or disprove those given up to the present time by Spaniards, or foreigners. If, however, an expedition was to be made it should be composed of one well-armed vessel and another drawing less water to make the surveys, with a competent dotation of officers and well equipped with supplies. I wish I had room to insert the translation of the entire opinion of Salamanca. His remarks on the fur trade were just as interesting as those on the projected expedition.

The very positive opposition to new explorations in the north manifested by all these experts except Galiano caused the viceroy to abandon the project, for that year at least, and be content with the examination of the coast south from the Strait of Juan de Fuca. He however evidently thought the opinions that some show of force ought to be provided were just and so he formulated a new scheme, which was to send the *Activa*, an armed brigantine, together with the *Horcasitas*, which Bodega had purchased from Robert Gray the year previous. On March 17, 1793, he notified Bodega to this effect and sent a set of instructions to be observed by whatever officer Bodega thought fit to entrust with the expedition. He told Bodega to furnish the vessels with two cables, a launch, and two boats, and in case the *Mexicana* should already have left port, to dispatch the *Activa* as soon as possible to join her at San Francisco and to undertake with her a survey of the coast from there to the Strait of Fuca. When this order reached Bodega the *Mexicana* was still in San Blas. He acknowledged receipt of the order on March 24 and said that although he considered the *Mexicana* sufficient alone to carry out the commission, and that the *Activa* could not possibly be ready until the end of April and the *Horcasitas* not until much later, he would at once take steps to carry it into effect. He however objected to beginning the survey at San Francisco. The viceroy finally agreed to all of Bodega's suggestions except about the *Activa* — she had to go; as far as the *Mexicana* was concerned he was specially to charge Zayas, if he were to command her, with the importance of a survey of the Columbia River. As the expedition was now to consist of two vessels, the command was one of some honor and therefore Bodega appointed to the post First Lieutenant Francisco de Eliza.

Eliza had probably come from Cadiz in 1789 with Bodega. He had been sent to re-occupy Nootka in 1790, and in 1791 personally undertook an exploration of the Strait of Juan de Fuca. He succeeded Bodega as commandant of San Blas and was still attached to the department in 1803 with the rank of commander. Martinez y Zayas first appears on the coast as a pilot with the Martinez expedition to Alaska in 1788, and in 1792 he accompanied Caamaño. In 1803 he was still in the service of the department. The *Activa* was a brigantine of 270 tons and carried a crew of fifty-seven men besides her officers. José Maldonado, who had also accompanied Caamaño in 1792, was the surgeon, and Agustín de la Peña chaplain. I think he also had been with Caamaño. José Tobar y Tamariz offici-

ated as first pilot. After having been educated in the seminary of San Telmo, Seville, he had come to San Blas in 1779 and served in the supply ships. He was the author of the interesting *informe* about the events of 1789 in Nootka, published in 1794 in the *Tres Cartas*.^{*} Later in 1796 he became involved in trouble by bringing back English sailors from Nootka. Juan Kendrick (the son of John Kendrick), the second pilot, had enlisted in the Spanish service in 1789 and turned Catholic. He seems to have been in the service about ten years, but the last record I have of him on this coast is in 1794 as commander of the *Aranzazu*. Zayas had no officers and only nineteen men. According to a letter of the viceroy acknowledging the receipt of the journals of the expedition the two vessels had received supplies of food and water for eight months.

The instructions of March 17 were of course somewhat altered to correspond with the changes made on Bodega's advice. In the main, however, they must be those which Eliza finally received. They are mostly directed to an insistence on a careful survey of the coast with the idea of linking the intermediate parts of the coast with already established points. Eliza was instructed to adopt the names for these places as they appeared on the map of Malaspina. Beads and trinkets were provided as gifts for the Indians to gain their friendship. The only instruction which calls for any particular notice is No. 8 which (in translation) reads as follows:

One of the most interesting points on the coast is the Columbia River in 46° 12' of latitude. This demands a long and minute examination. After the brigantine has anchored inside in the most convenient place, the sloop will go on, with appropriate instructions, as far as the circumstances may allow, towing the launch of the brigantine. When she anchors she will dispatch the launch in the best shape possible to stem and cut the currents, manned by a chosen crew, and provided with all the food she can carry and with arms and ammunition to continue the survey. It would be advisable for two pilots to go in her carrying two compasses for taking bearings. They should follow the river until they reach its source, but taking note of the state of their provisions in order to calculate the proper time to return so as to reach the sloop and receive food and continue their survey in case this has not been concluded with the first reserve of food. The making of the chart can be done by estimated bearings and distances in view of the fact that the current will not permit distances traveled to be measured by the log.

The emphasis laid on the survey of this river was due to the viceroy's intention to found a settlement there if necessary to maintain Spanish rights on the coast south of the Strait of Juan de Fuca, or in case the sources of the river were found to be in or close to New Mexico. The protection of the establishments of California proper furnished the motive for this northward extension which was to begin by colonizing and fortifying Bodega. This project will be considered subsequently.

The two ships departed from San Blas April 30, but only the schooner succeeded in reaching the Strait of Juan de Fuca. Eliza came back with the usual story about having been prevented by the winds and a lack of water from reaching any higher latitude than about 44°. On his way south he stopped at Trinidad and Bodega and made a somewhat superficial examination of the coast between them.

^{*} Sales, Fr. Luis, *Noticias de la Provincia de Californias en tres cartas de un sacerdote religioso hijo del real convento de predicadores de Valencia a un amigo suyo*, Valencia, 1794, pp. 57-86.

While at San Francisco he sent his pilots to explore the bay and had a chart of it made. Distinctly, he was a failure. Zayas, however, followed the coast very closely from the strait south. His observations, like those of Bodega and other navigators, were usually from one to three minutes of latitude too high. No attempt was made to land except perhaps in Tomales Bay, which he examined with considerable care. Matute had left Bodega before he arrived, abandoning the project of forming a settlement, because, as he affirmed, of a lack of timber with which to erect the buildings. On November 8, Eliza sent the viceroy his journal and plans. In excusing himself for not having reached the strait he remarked that Zayas had been more lucky. The viceroy in acknowledging the letter was somewhat sarcastic about his lack of luck but said that at an opportune moment he would advise the king of what had happened, for his information and for the remuneration which he might have the pleasure to grant. The king approved all that had been done and ordered a record made of the merits of the commanders.

Zayas made plans of Gray's Harbor, the mouth of the Columbia River, and Tomales Bay, while Eliza evidently made one of Trinidad where he spent a few days taking water and wood. While the *Activa* was at Monterey and San Diego on the return, new plans of these ports were also made. The principal geographical contribution of Zayas was a *Carta esferica* of the coast from the southern entrance of the Strait of Juan de Fuca to San Francisco. The map, which is of considerable size, graduated by single degrees of latitude and longitude, shows the track of the ship. Although to a certain extent based on the maps of Malasпина and Bodega, it is by no means a servile performance, in fact Zayas was a little too independent. He shifted the names of some of the places and gave, as far as we can make out at the present time, a few new ones. When we come to compare it with those of the northwest coast of 1795 and of 1802 we find that these were based on it to a considerable extent. Martin Fernandez de Navarrete, the first historian of these explorations, was connected with the newly formed Hydrographic Office in Madrid when these maps were made and must have had access to those of Zayas. Nevertheless he makes no allusion to this voyage in his general account in the Introduction to the voyage of the *Sutil* and *Mexicana*, and the impression he leaves is that the explorations of 1792 were the last undertaken by the Spaniards on the northwest coast. Subsequent writers on the subject have also been ignorant of the expedition, although the documents are briefly mentioned in Dr. Herbert E. Bolton's *Guide to Materials in the Archives of Mexico*. The volume containing the maps lay in the Library of the War Department in Washington unnoticed until about two years ago when it was turned over to the Library of Congress. Colonel Lawrence Martin, the chief of the map division, recognized the importance of the maps and showed them to me when I was there in May, 1929. With these as a clue it has not been difficult to trace the original journals. They are in Vol. 71, *Seccion Historia* of the Archivo General in Mexico, together with the related correspondence referred to in this article. A brief extract taken from both exists in the Archivo General in Seville.

The Conde de Revilla Gigedo summed up the series of explorations down to the end of 1792 in a long report addressed to the home government dated April 12, 1793. All through this he displays a marked suspicion of the motives of the English in their proceedings on the northwest coast. He could not rid his mind of the fear that they had some designs on California, and he made a series of recommendations for strengthening the Spanish power in that colony. He suggested also the possible advisability of sending another exploring expedition to the far north in 1794 in case the non-existence of a passage to the Atlantic Ocean had not been demonstrated by that time. Nothing more, however, is heard of this as no doubt the surveys of Vancouver in 1793 were deemed sufficient to dispel finally any notion that such a passage existed. If however there were no more explorations there were several voyages to those parts. Nootka was not finally abandoned until 1795. Meanwhile a Spanish garrison was maintained there, and supplies had to be sent to it, vessels had to be relieved, and the like, so that there was a constant movement between that port and Acapulco. Even after the abandonment of the place there is a record of one more voyage to the north which is of some interest.

This expedition resulted from the decision of the government of Mexico to send a vessel every six months as far as Bucareli Bay to look for suspicious foreigners. The *Sutil* left San Blas March 16, 1795, under Tovar and by May 28 had reached land at 47°. However, Tovar was not able to reach Bucareli, and on June 19 anchored in Nootka, where he found a Boston ship under Captain Dorr, as he calls him. This was the *Otter* and the captain's name was Ebenezer Dorr. Tovar did not molest him but received from his ship five English sailors and a Scotchman named Tomás Muir, whom Dorr had brought from the convict settlement at Port Jackson, Australia. The Scotchman was a somewhat famous individual named Thomas Moore. Tovar returned to San Blas on August 12, and his passengers were sent to Mexico to be forwarded to Spain. As his action was entirely unauthorized he was courtmartialed and condemned to a loss of all command for the future, a sentence approved by the king May 21, 1797. Dorr afterwards proceeded to Monterey to obtain provisions, arriving there about November 1. Here he landed ten men and one woman, another party from Port Jackson. An account of his proceedings and stay in Monterey is contained in the *Memoires du Capitaine Peron* published in Paris in 1824. A short extract containing a description of Monterey and the fate of the people landed at that place was translated by the writer and published in Vol. I, No. 2, of the *Quarterly* of the California Historical Society, October, 1922.

I think another ship, the *Mexicana*, was sent north on a similar errand the following year but I have been unable to find any record of the voyage. That appears to have been the last effort to keep track of suspicious foreigners in the north.

The accounts of Zayas and of Eliza follow:

VOYAGE TO THE COAST BETWEEN THE SOUTH ENTRANCE OF FUCA AND THE
 PUERTO DE SAN FRANCISCO IN THE YEAR 1793 BY SECOND PILOT DON
 JUAN MARTINEZ Y ZAYAS IN HIS MAJESTY'S SCHOONER
Mexicana OF FORTY-SIX TONS.

Although the naval officers Don Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra and Don Bruno de Ezeta gave us in the year 1775 sufficient information about the coast between the forty-eighth parallel and the most northerly establishments of California, they were prevented from making a detailed examination of it by more interesting occurrences at other places.¹ In the year 1778 Captain Cook intended to do this, but although reaching land at Cape Gregory the winds drove him off and the same thing happened to other navigators who wished to undertake the task. In the years 1791 and 1792 Captain Don Alejandro Malaspina and Commander Don Dionisio Galiano² established the principal points on this coast, but the English commander, George Vancouver, made an examination of it so minute that no doubt was left to us about anything that could be desired. Having noticed, however, that his work did not embrace Puerto Grek [Gray], discovered by the American captain of that name, nor the Columbia river, which is the same as the Entrada de Ezeta, many suspected that he had not been so careful as it had first seemed. Vancouver himself even became aware of this defect and returned to this coast in October, 1792. He visited the Puerto Grek, entered that of Ezeta, went inland up the Columbia river in his boats for 120 miles, and a second time examined the rest of the coast as far as Monterey.³ Notwithstanding all this information, the viceroy of New Spain, the Conde de Revilla Gigedo, desirous of having a careful examination made by Spaniards of the coast in the neighborhood of our establishments, ordered the fitting-out of the brigantine *Activo* and the schooner *Mexicana*,⁴ so that by not leaving unexamined the smallest rock no doubts should be left in the future about the ports and shelters which it afforded. For this purpose Commander of the Royal Navy Don Francisco de

¹ This was not strictly true. Bodega and Ezeta did not examine the entire coast between these points. (See "Fray Benito de la Sierra's account of the Ezeta Expedition to the Northwest Coast in 1775," translated by A. J. Baker, with introduction and notes by Henry R. Wagner, in this *Quarterly*, Vol. IX, No. 3, Sept., 1930, pp. 201-42.)

² The titles given these two men in the text, *capitan de navio* and *capitan de fragata* correspond closely to captain and commander in the American naval service. In order to avoid continued use of the longer Spanish titles, "captain" and "commander" will hereafter be used.

³ Nothing had been published about Vancouver's voyage at this time, but plans of the coast made by him had been turned over to the Spanish naval officials, while he received theirs from them. He first visited the northwest coast in April, 1792, and followed it from about Cape Mendocino to the Strait of Juan de Fuca. Captain Robert Gray discovered the port named after him, May 7, 1792, and entered the Columbia about the 11th, ascending the river about fifteen miles a few days later. In September Gray met Vancouver and told him of these discoveries and on his way south in October Vancouver commissioned Lieutenant Joseph Whidbey to survey Gray's Harbor and Lieutenant William R. Broughton to explore the Columbia. Vancouver himself did not make any detailed examination of the coast.

⁴ The *Mexicana* had been used in 1792 for exploring the Strait of Juan de Fuca. A *goleta*, as the *Mexicana* was called, still had lateen sails. The *Activo*, usually spelled *Activa*, had been in service to Nootka.

Eliza was appointed to command this expedition and I, under his orders, to command the small schooner.

*Voyage from San Blas to the Southern Entrance of the Estrecho de Fuca and
What Took Place During It.*

April 30 [1793] at two o'clock in the morning we made sail with the two vessels with a light land breeze from the north-northeast. With this and with the light sea breezes from the third quarter⁵ we did not succeed in passing the Islas Marias until May 4. The most southern one of these bore N. (corrected), and at midday we made the Punta Salida of this, the observed latitude being 20° 36'.

(The weather, the winds and the character of these which we experienced, are noted in the resumé of the voyage.)

As soon as we lost sight of the islands we sailed as close to starboard to the wind as those from the northwest to the west permitted, with the result that as these were light and on occasions varied to the second and third quarters we only gained as much northing as we lost to the south until May 16, when the north-northwest to north wind began to strengthen and we went back to sailing close to it as before. May 25, already the twenty-sixth day since our departure from San Blas, the latitude was 19° 35' and the longitude 11° 43' W.⁶ The winds gave us no expectation of being able to replenish our supply of water in such a short time as our remaining forty-seven barrels would last. It was necessary therefore to go on half rations and we cut this down even more on the following day, because on our coming to speak with the commander he said he was going to leave us, as our boat was very slow and he had no more than thirty-five days' supply of water. I responded that he would not do well in leaving us, but notwithstanding this he crowded on all sail and we lost sight of him at six o'clock. From this point on the winds began to settle in the first quarter so that on June 5, when in 22° 18' and longitude 19° 08', we sighted on the port side a frigate sailing on the same course as we were. Persuaded that she could be no other than the *Aranzazu*⁷ we put up the necessary sail in order to join her. This we effected at ten o'clock on the morning of the 6th. I requested a convoy as far as 40°, in order that, at the time when I should have to approach the coast, the captain could give me the water which he considered he could spare. To this the captain answered that he was so short of water himself that the crew drank through the barrel of a gun.⁸ Nevertheless he promised to give me twelve barrels as soon as the weather would permit him to put the small boats in the water. This he carried out on the morning of the 8th and then sailed away, being lost to sight at sunset.

We continued on our course, sailing close to the wind which now blew

⁵ The quarters were as follows: First quarter, from north to east; second, from east to south; third, from south to west; fourth, from west to north.

⁶ Zayas adds "of San Blas" but as all his longitudes were measured from San Blas the addition is eliminated here and hereafter in the course of the narrative.

⁷ This vessel was en route to Bodega.

⁸ I do not understand this allusion. It was probably some slang expression of the day.

from the first quarter, until the 17th, when it shifted to the fourth quarter, but came back constant again from the first quarter on the 19th. July 2 the wind shifted to the second quarter, and, being then in $34^{\circ} 21'$ of longitude, we endeavored to keep to that meridian, although the wind shifted to the third quarter, and from 40° of latitude upward varied between this and the fourth quarter, but blew most constantly from the latter. With these we succeeded in sighting the coast of the Isla de Vancouver y Quadra⁹ July 21 at four o'clock in the afternoon.

The currents carried us to the south, and the wind being light we could not reach land until the 24th at midday, when we marked the most easterly point of the Archipelago de Carrasco¹⁰ at 50° of the fourth quarter, distant four miles. From this day to the 25th the winds were variable and light. The weather was foggy and according to our reckoning we were holding our position off the mouth of the strait, but at the mercy of the currents, calculating that we were eight minutes north of the Punta de Tutusí.¹¹ We sighted this that day on the same parallel, distant five leagues, and then took a course for the Puerto de Nuñez Gaona, the rendezvous which Commander Francisco de Eliza had given us, reaching it at two o'clock on the morning of the 26th.¹² At day-break we saw he was not there. The natives came out, and as we all knew their language we asked them if the one we were looking for had arrived. They all answered "No," particularly the Tayz Taysum¹³ who anxiously desired to know if Lieutenant¹⁴ Don Salvador Fidalgo were coming back.

We had sufficient knowledge of the bad behaviour of these Indians. It was also evident that if Don Francisco Eliza had not arrived at this port in a vessel of such speed, it must have been because on reaching the coast he had not wished to lose the northwest winds favorable for beginning the exploration, preferring to go to Puerto Grek [Gray], our second rendezvous. If this had not been the case some occurrence of great moment must have prevented him. Therefore, not counting on him, we decided to pass over to the Puerto de San Juan,¹⁵ situated at the south entrance of Fuca but on the north coast. There we anchored on the same day at four o'clock in the afternoon. We took water, wood and ballast, and cleaned the ship with the greatest ease, the kindness of the natives being so great that they themselves aided us in our work, bringing fruit and fish with which we refreshed ourselves, and we concluded our labors on the 30th. During the stay at this port we saw the Taiz Tutacu of Tutusí's

⁹ The original name of Vancouver Island.

¹⁰ Now known as "Barkley Sound."

¹¹ Tutusí was the name of an Indian chief of the Makahs who inhabited this part of the coast but who are supposed to have originally come from the west side of Vancouver Island. His name was applied rather indiscriminately to the point now known as "Cape Flattery" and to the island off it still known as "Tatooch Island."

¹² Neah Bay, just east of Cape Flattery. It was named August 1, 1790, by Manuel Quimper after Manuel Nuñez Gaona, a rear-admiral in the Spanish navy who died in 1813.

¹³ Another of the Makahs, also well known to the Spaniards.

¹⁴ *Sp., teniente de navío*. This rank was the next below *capitan de fragata* and roughly corresponded to first lieutenant in the American navy.

¹⁵ Still known under this name, which had been given to it by José Maria Narvaez about June 26, 1789.

settlement, the comrade of Tutusí and of Taysun, who told us that, having learned from his people that we were there, he wished to get news of the naval officers Don Cayetano Valdés, Don Salvador Fidalgo and Don Manuel Quimper. I gave him all the news about them and entertained him.

[Table from May 4 to July 27 omitted.]

Navigation by the Coast from the Southern Entrance of the Estrecho de Fuca to the Puerto de San Francisco.

July 30 at nightfall we left San Juan under oars with the falling tide, and when we were outside of the points at eleven at night we anchored until day-break of the 31st. Then we raised anchor and took a course with variable winds until we were seven miles distant from the Punta de Tutusí where we begin our operations and continue these till off the rocky islands which we call "Deseados."¹⁶ At five in the afternoon when we were off these islands a fog came up with a misty rain, and the wind blew up from the southeast very fresh. This obliged us to head into the wind 50° S., using the tacking ropes from this hour, so as to maintain ourselves at a regular distance from the coast, in order to take advantage of the first favorable instant, without taking into consideration that Commander Don Francisco de Eliza might have explored what was to be seen from here to the Puerto Grek, where he had told us to meet him if we did not do so in Gaona. The coast from the Punta de Tutusí to the Deseados runs almost north-south, and is moderately high. There is a cove¹⁷ beneath the hill at the point, sheltered from the north winds, but as the wind did not permit us to enter it we could not ascertain if it afforded anchorage. From here to the south there are various sand beaches with some farallons.

We maintained ourselves by tacking, with variable light winds and with very unsettled weather, until August 30 at two o'clock in the afternoon, when the wind settled in the west-northwest and we had a chance to reach the coast during that afternoon. Although the currents had their effect we had endeavored to correct the situation on previous days by sailing as far north as we had lost with them to the south, so we were only eleven miles distant from the Deseados when we anchored that night.

On the morning of the 4th, six canoes of Indians came out from a cove very close to us, each with ten men. They invited us to go to it, explaining that their captain, Mogos Vtpi, had many sealskins to exchange for copper and clothing.¹⁸ From this we inferred that they had already had intercourse with some civilized people. Their language, dress, canoes, and aroma are the

¹⁶ It seems likely that Zayas gave this name. In this sentence he uses all the verbs in the present tense, but as there is no earlier record of the name I presume he meant to use the past tense, *nombremos*. Just why he called them "Deseados" which means "desired" or "expected," is not apparent. They are now well known as "Flattery Rocks."

¹⁷ *Sp., ensenada*. In this case it was nothing but a very small cove.

¹⁸ This settlement was evidently at the mouth of the Quillayute River. On Zayas' chart it is shown in about 47° 56'. The English and American fur traders had frequently visited this coast.

same as of those at the south entrance of Fuca. The weather began to change and the wind to blow from the southeast, so we did not think it advisable to go to the habitation of the captain but to take to tacking again in the same manner as on previous days, repeating soundings every two hours.

On the 5th at midday the coast cleared up. We found we were twenty-one minutes south of our reckoning and unable to make any headway to the north to reach the Ensenada de los Martires,¹⁹ because the wind was exactly from the northwest, the direction the coast runs from Mogos Vtpi to the Isla de los Dolores,²⁰ which we could see very well. We took it for a base to work from between midday and three o'clock in the afternoon, when we approached within a distance of three miles of the Punta de Lavastida²¹ from which the coast again runs almost south to the Puerto Grek. We were off this at nightfall, and at daybreak on the 6th were three miles distant from the north point, which bore east (corrected). We anchored in seven fathoms, sand bottom, as the wind had fallen to a calm. As we were all surrounded by shoals it was not advisable to seek the entrance by rowing. At midday we made an observation in 47° N. and discovered that the currents had carried us south fifty-five miles from the Punta de Tutusí. At this hour it was clear, and expecting that the wind would come up from the south, we made sail in order to escape from our bad situation, maintaining our position by tacking until one o'clock in the afternoon of August 7, when the wind having settled in the northwest we returned off the port. The surf was breaking at its mouth on every side, but this did not alarm us very much, because we knew that the American captain who discovered it and Commander Vancouver with the frigate *Descubierta* and the brigantine *Chatham* had entered it.²² When we were close in we took our bearings; the north point bore 40° and the south point 63° of the first quarter [that is east of north]. Steering between those towards the ravine at the bottom of the port, which we marked at 56° of the first quarter (also of the compass), we passed over the bar safely. In doing this we could not avoid feeling fearful of some danger as the tide was running out and where this encountered the surf outside several breakers struck us. Afterwards we anchored in a good spot.

On the 8th in the morning we began to make the plan and the natives came. They are divided into two tribes; that of Captain Putus being of better disposi-

¹⁹ Zayas here refers to the mouth of the Hoh River where Captain Charles William Barkley's men had been killed in 1787. He evidently confused it with the Ensenada de los Martires under Pt. Grenville, so named by the Hezeta expedition in 1775 on account of the killing of a boat crew by the Indians. This plainly appears on the maps of the 1775 expedition south of the Isla Dolores while the Hoh River is north of it.

²⁰ This name was given by Bodega September 18, 1775, on the day of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. When Captain Barkley's men were killed nearby he named it "Destruction Island," a name by which it is still known.

²¹ Pt. Grenville, in about 47° 20'. On Zayas' chart it is shown in about 47° 23'. The name, sometimes written "La Bastida," had been given by Commander Dionisio Galiano or Captain Alonso de Torres in 1792, no doubt in honor of Bodega's secretary, Francisco Labastida.

²² This is not quite correct. It was Lieutenant Whidbey in the *Daedalus* who surveyed this port for Vancouver as previously stated. Zayas' plan of the port is still extant in the Library of Congress. He locates it in 47° and 19° 04' W., which is several minutes too high.

tion than that of Canchuk who tried to take the launch by force of arms but we repelled them and they fled. Their language, their war canoes and their paddles are somewhat different from those of the natives at Fuca. The canoes have two prows which stand up perpendicularly from the keel and perfectly cover a man of ordinary height. There are some holes in these through which we thought they discharged their arrows, which do not end in a point but in the shape of a fish tail. The common desire of these Indians is for copper and clothing.²³ Their commerce is in sea-otter skins of which they possess very few, for they regularly wear skins of birds and deer.

On the 9th we concluded our labors, which, on being compared closely with those of Captain Vancouver, were found not to have the least difference. The port in its whole extent affords neither shelter nor safety, because, as its north shore is very low and the shoals do not permit a close approach to the shelter of the woods with which it is very abundantly provided, the wind strikes with the same force as at high sea. We endeavored to leave here in the afternoon, but the wind having failed at the bar, the oars were not sufficient to keep the head to the sea, and so we turned around several times with great danger of upsetting, until the current carried us out of danger. The wind came back from the west-northwest, and night coming on we maintained our position by tacking until daybreak when we returned to the coast. We sailed along this, locating it in the most exact manner until midday, when we were at the shoals of Mal Arrimo.²⁴ From these we had to sheer off with the prow headed south-west, as from these to Cabo San Roque,²⁵ the north point of the Entrada de Ezeta,²⁶ the coast trends to the south (corrected). This cape is in latitude 46° 19' N. and a longitude by reckoning, as shown on the chart. It is well known for being the highest to be seen coming along the coast from the north, and has a break in it which seems to divide it into two islands.²⁷ Here we arrived at five o'clock in the afternoon of the 10th, a great opening presenting itself to us at that moment, whose salient shoals allow of an entrance three miles wide. These we passed at nightfall and anchored under the lee of the cape in six fathoms of water. Here there is a sheltered port and a supply of water, wood and ballast.²⁸

On the morning of August 11 the weather was clear and the wind began to blow from the northwest. The natives²⁹ came out with a great array of

²³ *Sp., ropa*, about everything that one would find in a present-day dry goods store. The Indians in this part had a great liking for old European clothes.

²⁴ The present Willapa Bay, formerly better known as "Shoalwater Bay." It is in 46° 36'. The center of it is shown on Zayas' chart in 46° 37'. The meaning of this name is not quite clear, perhaps he used "*Mal Arrimo*" as synonymous with "*Mal Abrigo*" (bad protection), a name it bears on later maps.

²⁵ The present Cape Disappointment in 46° 16'. It was named "San Roque" by Hezeta on August 17, 1775.

²⁶ The Columbia River. Hezeta had named it "Asuncion de Nuestra Señora" August 17, 1775, but it was usually known under this name.

²⁷ This is a noticeable feature of this cape.

²⁸ Apparently Baker Bay.

²⁹ The Chinook Indians who then had a large settlement at Chinook Point, the east point of Baker Bay. This bay was frequently referred to in the journals of the fur traders as "Deception Bay" and was one of their favorite resorts.

bows and arrows and could give us no news of the brigantine *Activo*. This so perplexed me that I did not know what course to pursue to continue up the Columbia river³⁰ to seek its source. Finally we resolved to go inside. This we effected at eight o'clock in the morning being followed by innumerable war canoes, manned by corpulent, strong people of good appearance. At twelve o'clock when we had already gone fourteen miles from the Cabo de San Roque we ran aground in only four feet of water.³¹ The Indians rejoiced at our misfortune and were so insolent that the more we asked them to go away so we could extract ourselves from this dangerous situation the closer they came, bending their bows and wetting the feathers on their arrows. It was therefore necessary to take our arms in hand. These they did not think would do anything more than make noise until they saw the ravages made in one of their canoes. Now that we could be free of all such hindrance to carrying out our plans, we hoisted all sail and stretched a warp, but very close to the vessel as it was not possible to stem the current with the little launch when loaded with an anchor. We then proceeded to hunt with this for the place where the channel was. This we did not find because we were in it, and on either side one can get into less water with very little trouble. As we had run ashore at low tide, when this rose we floated.

My imagination whirled about confusedly, hindering me from making the decision most conducive to carrying out by myself a business such as I have described, it being evident that the brigantine *Activo* had not reached there nor would do so, as it seemed likely that she had been wrecked or had gone to the coast at a very low latitude. At the same time the viceroy had laid emphasis on this point as the most important one of the commission. We saw that to send the launch alone would be an obvious blunder, as she could not carry the supplies necessary for such a long voyage and the ship would have to be left with only twelve men in a situation where the Indians, arrogant on account of their arms and their number, could attempt some treachery. Moreover we might lose the launch with its boat.

Not finding any expedient consonant with my good intentions we sadly turned back as soon as the current began to run out. We did not stop scraping on the sand after we had made sail until we got into three fathoms of water and then into eight and ten. In this place there is good holding ground for any kind of vessel, with wood at hand and water in the river itself.³² Where, however, there is more security for a vessel and for living on land is a bay on the south shore of the entrance to the river. The point, which with Cabo de San Roque forms the Boca de Ezeta, is so low that it is level with the sea.³³ From this makes off the great shoal which ends south of Cabo San Roque. The houses

³⁰ The Spaniards had adopted Gray's name for the river.

³¹ Gray had ascended the river about this far when he ran aground, perhaps near the same place.

³² He plainly means in the bay under Cape Disappointment.

³³ Pt. Adams. It had been named "Cabo Frondoso" by Hezeta on account of the trees in the neighborhood. *Boca* was in common use to represent any inlet.

we saw on our way along the north shore are well made of wood with wood roofs. We cannot give any account of their customs, their form of idolatry, or the character of the women, because they would not permit us to hold any intercourse with them in spite of the fact that we had made them some presents.

Midday, August 12, we departed from Ezeta. We observed the latitude and estimated the longitude as appears in the sketch of the plan.³⁴ We continued following the coast to the south, favored by good winds from the northwest, until three o'clock in the afternoon, when, while off the Cabo de Santa Maria de la Luz,³⁵ we were becalmed. At nightfall a fog closed in with southerly winds which lasted until the 15th. Although during this time we tried not to be carried away from the last point marked, the currents did not fail to carry us to the south fifteen miles. Our latitude at midday was $45^{\circ} 52'$ and the longitude $13^{\circ} 30'$.³⁶ Having information that there was a port at $45^{\circ} 26'$ we closed in on it as far as possible and having reached that parallel as night fell, we found nothing but a small cove formed by Cabo Lucout (so named by Captain Vancouver)³⁷ and the land to the south of it, which continues on quite high, covered with trees and clean on the shore with some sand beaches. We passed the night tacking so as not to lose ground to the south, always taking the current into consideration. This however did not fail to take us down ten minutes.

On the 16th at five o'clock in the afternoon, after having passed Cabo Foulweather,³⁸ the wind came up so strong from the north that it covered the coast with a mist and compelled us to beat out to sea to starboard and maintain our position by lying to and tacking until the 18th. Then it cleared up and we returned towards land with some loss in our latitude by what the currents had carried us to the south. On the morning of August 19 at daybreak we were close in so that we could take advantage of the puffs of wind from the northwest, making the latitude at midday $44^{\circ} 16'$ (that of Cabo Perpetua).³⁹ From this hour on the wind kept freshening and we kept approaching the coast in order to find the Puerto Sigman in $43^{\circ} 56'$.⁴⁰ At nightfall we reached this

³⁴ This plan is now in the Library of Congress.

³⁵ Tillamook Head in $45^{\circ} 58'$. Zayas locates it in about $45^{\circ} 57'$ and speaks as if it had been previously named.

³⁶ An error in the text for $19^{\circ} 30'$.

³⁷ Zayas must here refer to the Ensenada del Engaño of his map, which is in about this latitude, just south of his Cabo Lucout. No doubt he gave this name because he did not find the port. His Cabo Lucout (a name given by John Mears) was undoubtedly that now known as "Meares," ten miles to the north of the present Lookout. Between these is Netarts Bay.

³⁸ A few of Captain James Cook's names had been adopted and this is one of them, although not spelled quite right in the texts, Fonweatel, in this case, to be explicit.

³⁹ Another of Cook's names.

⁴⁰ The proper name of this port was "Sidman" [Sidenham]. When Captain James Baker, trading in the *Jenny*, met Broughton in the *Columbia* in November, 1792, he told him about this port and thus knowledge of it passed to Vancouver and finally to the Spaniards. Charles Bishop was on the coast in May, 1795, in the *Ruby* which belonged to the owner of the *Jenny*, Sidenham Teast of Bristol. In his journal he states that Baker had traded with the natives at this port, which was at the mouth of a small river in $43^{\circ} 40'$, for ten or twelve days in 1791, and named it after his owner. Bishop himself was off the port May 15, and said that it was below Cape Perpetua. The mouth of the Umpqua River is in about $43^{\circ} 42'$, and it seems most likely that this was where Puerto Sidman was located by Baker.

latitude but saw no indication of any port in the land we were looking at. Nevertheless on the 20th we were at the same place at daybreak and followed the coast as closely as we could, at a distance of one and one-half miles. This distance we preserved all morning and saw nothing but some sand hills, which extend from $44^{\circ} 10'$ to Cabo Gregory (so named by Captain Cook).⁴¹ At midday this bore 20° of the second quarter [i.e. 20° S. of E.], our observed latitude being $43^{\circ} 35'$. In this situation we found the water so much discolored that we thought we only had three fathoms when on sounding we found fifty. We attributed this to roughness of the sea in the ocean at this latitude.⁴² At four o'clock in the afternoon when close to Cabo Toledo,⁴³ the northwest wind blew up with unutterable fury and covered the land. As we could not continue our operations we lay to so as to maintain ourselves in this latitude. Thus we suffered until the 29th at midday with calms, fogs and variable winds, sailing towards the north on such occasions as we knew the currents were carrying us to the south. In spite of this we struck land nineteen miles south of where we should have returned to the survey, not however neglecting from this cause to mark Cabo Diligencias⁴⁴ and the land south of it to the Punta de San Dimas,⁴⁵ guiding ourselves in the detail of the rocks and islands by Commander Vancouver who was anchored under the shelter of this cape, and whose labors we have found to be very much in conformity with ours. From Cabo Toledo the coast begins to take on a formidable height, with bluffs on the shores and very few trees in the interior.

August 30 at midday our latitude was $42^{\circ} 06'$, the currents having carried the vessel in twenty-four hours nineteen miles towards the third quarter. At this hour we were two miles off the Punta de Marqués.⁴⁶ Standing off then from the coast in the second quarter in search of Cabo San Sebastian,⁴⁷ we continued steering SE $\frac{1}{4}$ S. until three o'clock in the afternoon, when having sighted some farallons to the south which extend to this cape, we steered until five o'clock in the afternoon to pass to the west of them.⁴⁸ When due west of the most southerly ones a fog closed in and it was necessary to lie to to pass

The latitudes in the different accounts do not quite agree, Bishop's being probably the most correct. There should be a chart of the port in the library of the Sociedad de Geografia in Mexico but I have not been able to find it. Zayas has entered on his map in about this latitude "No existe Sigman." (Captain Bishop's journal is in the Provincial Archives, Victoria, B. C.)

⁴¹ Along the coast between about $43^{\circ} 25'$ and $44^{\circ} 10'$ on his map is a name "Meganos de D^a Maria" for these sand dunes, no doubt one he himself gave. They are still there between precisely these latitudes.

⁴² This is just a little below the mouth of the Umpqua River. In 1854 Dr. George Davidson observed this same phenomenon, but about thirty miles farther south (*Coast Pilot*, 1869, 119).

⁴³ The present Cape Blanco according to his map, although in all probability the name had been applied by Bodega in 1775 to what is now known as "Cape Arago."

⁴⁴ Orford Head according to his map; his description also agrees with that. Nevertheless the name has been undoubtedly applied by Bodega to the present Cape Blanco.

⁴⁵ The present Cape Sebastian; on his map it is located in $42^{\circ} 23\frac{1}{2}'$.

⁴⁶ There is no earlier record of this name; it is applied on his map to what is now known as "Chetco Point."

⁴⁷ Pt. St. George.

⁴⁸ Dragon Rocks.

the night and what remained of the day. At daybreak, believing that we would be more to the north, it happened that the currents had carried us to the south seventeen miles. The wind was from the north on the 31st. We saw Cabo de San Sebastian and the little entrance which Captain Vancouver leaves open [on his chart] in $41^{\circ} 46'$.⁴⁹ We thought this was Sigman, where the ship of Captain Veka [Baker] had been and that the placing of it in $43^{\circ} 46'$ was erroneous, since we had not seen it.

It was three o'clock in the afternoon and already we found that far from having conserved our latitude we had fallen off to the south considerably. The depth was so great that we could not maintain our position by anchoring and thus it was necessary to let ourselves drift with the current which carried us fifty-five miles in forty-eight hours. There was hardly any wind so we could not make any efforts to enter Puerto de la Trinidad, which we could see at two o'clock in the afternoon of September 1. At sunset we marked Cabo Mendocino bearing 20° (by the compass) in the second quarter. It had been our good fortune not to miss seeing anything as the land cleared up at various times.

From Trinidad the coast is moderately high, but low at the shore and covered with pine trees, and abounding in sea-otters, seals and ducks, but Cabo Mendocino is a mountain, the most outstanding from Cabo Toledo, so far as marked. According to our latitude observed on September 2, and the concurring points, it is in $40^{\circ} 28' N.$,⁵⁰ and $19^{\circ} 24' W.$ by the longitude which we have carried from the Punta de Tutusí. It has three visible farallons, and some rocks which are seen only because of the sea breaking over them. From Cabo Vizcaino,⁵¹ the one after Mendocino, the coast begins to turn towards the southeast and continues extremely high, destitute of trees and with the shores clean until after Punta Delgada, where there are some small farallons.⁵² Night having overtaken us on the 3d when a little to the north of this point, we lay to to pass the night, in the same way as we had practiced during the expedition, so as not to contravene in any respect what was laid down in our instructions, although we had sufficient knowledge of the point and of the coast beyond it to San Francisco. On the morning of the 4th we found that the currents had carried us towards the third quarter, so far away from the coast that we could not get back to it until midday, when we observed the latitude to be $38^{\circ} 22'$, almost due west of the Puerto de la Bodega. At this place we arrived at two-thirty in the afternoon. The coast from Punta Delgada is not so high as that

⁴⁹ He refers here to the little bay in front of Crescent City.

⁵⁰ Actual latitude, $40^{\circ} 27'$. Zayas marked Punta Gorda on his map in $40^{\circ} 45'$, without much doubt Table Bluff which is in $40^{\circ} 42'$. This is the most conspicuous object in the landscape here, coming from the north, as everything north of it almost to Trinidad is flat land or else water. There can be no doubt that it was the Punta Gorda of all the early maps.

⁵¹ The present Pt. Gorda. The name had probably been given in 1791 by Malaspina. In the text of his voyage he states that he thinks Mendocino was the highest point reached by Vizcaino.

⁵² There is a Punta Clara on his map in about $39^{\circ} 50'$, undoubtedly the present Pt. Delgada, which is actually in about $40^{\circ} 01'$. He was obviously too far away from the coast to locate it properly. Punta Delgada, so named by Bodega in 1775, was the present Pt. Arena in $38^{\circ} 57'$.

from Cabo Vizcaino but it is also destitute of trees, although there are some narrow valleys which are not sterile.

Having anchored in the north part of the Ensenada de la Bodega we fired a cannon to find out if the officer charged with the projected establishment at this place was in the lagoon under the shelter of the north point.⁵³ Not receiving any answer nor seeing anything on the beach except a long line of surf, but observing to the southeast an inlet which gave promise of being a large port, we directed ourselves to that with great risk of losing the anchors which had dragged since we had anchored, thus preventing us from making a careful scrutiny of the north lagoon and its qualities. By five-thirty in the afternoon we were already inside the port referred to, which runs inland some distance. We followed it until we saw a vast number of shoals. We decided not to continue until we had determined with the launch what they were. This we executed from the 5th to the 11th, when we went farther in with the vessel, until at three o'clock in the afternoon we reached ten feet of water, where we anchored, and went with the launch to examine the lower end of it which ends in loose mud.⁵⁴

This port is fifteen miles long in all, counting from the north point, which is the southern one of the *ensenada*, and if the entrance were deep enough for vessels of size there would be no better one on all the coast, since from the shoals inward there is a depth of four to six fathoms of water. At the end there are some forests of trees which, although I did not recognize their character, could not but be useful for any purpose. All the remainder of it, the hill to the west, the shore on the east side and the rest of the *ensenada* to the lagoon at the north is bare and arid. The natives are of ordinary size, of reddish color and some have long hair. They are docile and well disposed and did not show that arrogance which those at the Columbia river did and others of whom we have spoken. We could not estimate their number as they have very poor little houses of brush very scattered and in small numbers. Their food is a kind of pinole, fish and shell-fish. Their dress is a jacket of bird skins, but they usually go naked with the head uncovered. The women cover themselves from the waist down with deer skins. Their canoes are of reeds like those at San Francisco and San Diego. They use them to cast their nets and to cross from one side of the port to the other. We were not able to find out if the net was made of linen or hemp.

Having finished our labors and observations we passed outside, effecting this on the 14th at eleven o'clock at night, clearing the points of the *ensenada* with southeast winds. Our voyage from here to San Francisco, where we

⁵³ Juan Bautista Matute had been sent up to establish a settlement in the lagoon, but as we shall see in the journal of Eliza and in his own he had already departed.

⁵⁴ Tomales Bay. Zayas did not enter the lagoon, Bodega's Puerto de Bodega, discovered and named by him in 1775. His chart was reproduced in the writer's *Sir Francis Drake's Voyage*. What Zayas meant by Bodega Bay, or *ensenada* as he called it, was the part between the present Tomales Point and Bodega Head, now called Bodega Bay and about four and one-half miles long and quite narrow.

anchored September 17 at four o'clock in the afternoon, took place with various winds from the second and third quarters. The coast was not very clear so we did not see the farallons. Having moored the vessel according to practice, we learned that the brigantine *Activo* was in Monterey and that the commander, Don Francisco Eliza, had examined the interior of this port with the schooner *Sutil*, and had left an order for me on his departure to join him at San Diego after my crew had enjoyed some days of rest. During our stay in this port we went over the tackle and the sails and were ready on October 15 to proceed to our destination as the commander had ordered.

[Table of winds, courses and observations from August 1 to September 17.]

Voyage from San Francisco to San Diego and from There to San Blas

October 16 at ten o'clock in the morning we took our departure from the Puerto de San Francisco, succeeding in getting free of the points after midday. We continued sailing as close to the wind to starboard as the light winds from the third quarter permitted, the schooner *Sutil* which had also left the port a little after midday, having joined us in the middle of the afternoon. We passed the night becalmed, and on the 17th both vessels sailed with light winds from the north to the west until five o'clock in the afternoon when the fog having closed in we lost sight of each other. On the morning of the 18th we were looking at the land north and south of Monterey and at midday observed the latitude to be $36^{\circ} 20'$. We steered $SE\ 05^{\circ}\ S.$ until the 19th at midday, when we changed to $SE\ 05^{\circ}\ E.$, a course which we kept, although on the 21st we experienced some calms and light winds. We steered towards the coast by courses nearly east and on the 24th at midday, concluding that we were in the latitude of San Diego, we steered $E.\ \frac{1}{4}\ NE$ in order to make the port on its parallel. Having sighted the coast at twelve o'clock at night we could not examine it until morning, when we found we had passed the port, on account of the southerly currents on the 23d and the 24th when we could not make an observation. Judging it to be impossible to reach the port, as there was a fresh wind from the north, we turned back and set our course for San Blas.⁵⁵ On the 26th at sunset we succeeded in sighting the Isla Guadalupe on the starboard side. From there we went on with fresh winds from the fourth quarter and with these reached the Cabo de San Lucas on October 31 at midday. Here we sighted the *Sutil* which was following the same course that we were.

November 1 we sailed together with fresh winds from the third quarter. On the 2d she was at some distance, the wind very light from the northwest, and finally on the 3d at daybreak we were in sight of the Marias, but without seeing the *Sutil*. On the 4th at daybreak we were off La Isabella and on the 5th off the outer Piedra Blanca, where we anchored at four o'clock in the morning, as the land wind from the east had come up. This continued fresh until ten, and then from this hour until one, when the sea breeze came up from the

⁵⁵ This was an old story. When a commander of a vessel did not wish to enter a port he always found some excuse, frequently one like this. The fact of course was that he and all the crew were anxious to get home.

northwest, it was calm. At that hour we made sail and succeeded in reaching port at nightfall.

San Blas, Nov. 5, 1793.

JUAN MARTINEZ Y ZAYAS.
(Rúbrica)

[Table from October 17 to November 4.]

EXTRACT OF THE OCCURRENCES DURING THE VOYAGE IN THE KING'S BRIGANTINE *Activo*, UNDER THE COMMAND OF LIEUTENANT DON FRANCISCO DE ELIZA, IN EXPLORING THE NORTHERN COAST OF THE CALIFORNIAS FROM 44° N. TO THE PUERTO DE SAN FRANCISCO, BY DIRECTION OF HIS EXCELLENCY THE CONDE DE REVILLA GIGEDO, VICEROY OF NEW SPAIN.

The commander of the department having provided whatever supplies I requested and which seemed suitable for the best carrying out of my commission, and April 30 being fully equipped with everything, I set sail that night taking in convoy the schooner *Mexicana* under the command of Second Pilot Don Juan de Sayas.

As soon as I was free of the port I set a course to strike land at the south-east point of Juan de Fuca in accordance with my instructions, but due to encountering contrary winds, the advanced state of the season, and the slow sailing of the schooner which did not permit me to crowd sail, I only reached the latitude of 19° 39' and longitude 11° 47' west of San Blas⁵⁶ after twenty-six days. For these reasons I determined to leave her, assigning as points of rendezvous Bahia de Nuñez Gaona and Puerto Gray. June 30, finding myself through the persistence of contrary winds in latitude 35° 28' and longitude 28° 40', and seeing that almost all the water was exhausted, I gave orders to put everybody on a single hot meal and two pints of water a day. July 20, having made latitude 45° 16' and longitude 20° 50' I encountered strong winds from the north and north-northwest, which did not permit me to gain anything on any course. Despite the greatest efforts to not lose what had cost us so much, on July 22nd I had lost fifty-seven minutes of latitude and one degree eight minutes of longitude. Finding myself so short of water, only three pipes remaining, all the cattle having been eaten, and with eleven sick, who could not be put on water rations according to the surgeon, I determined with the agreement of my pilots, to turn back and seek the coast wherever it could be found, since the water I had would only last twelve days. We were also ignorant whether or not there had been much error in our position, because this would have been nothing strange in view of the track over which we had come and the eighty-four days of sailing which had passed without our having seen land or any sign of it.

On the 24th land was seen in lat. 43° 56' and long. 18° 39'. Having approached it to within two miles I anchored in twenty-nine fathoms of water. Immediately I dispatched the launch with the first pilot to see if there was some place where I could get closer in and land the men in order to supply ourselves

⁵⁶ See Note 6.

with water. At the end of five hours, after examining the places which looked suitable for approaching land, he returned telling me that in no way could the launch reach land on account of the heavy surf. Seeing that I could not supply myself with water and that the winds were so constant from the north and north-northwest, I determined to come back and reconnoiter the coast to the Puerto de Trinidad. I did not neglect, however, to send the launch to the places which looked as if they might furnish some shelter, as at Cabo Diligencia. The wind was favorable and as there appeared to be some there I sent the launch in with a pilot. He returned and reported that the surf was breaking heavily and that to continue would be to expose the launch to the risk of loss. In $42^{\circ} 26'$, believing that I might take water in a small cove which Captain Vancouver shows on his plan, after anchoring, I sent in the armed launch with a pilot.⁵⁷ When near the beach five canoes of natives came out who attempted to take it by force, but the second pilot, seeing that it would be necessary to make use of arms to continue towards land and that there were many Indians on the beach, determined to return on board. This I considered good judgment. At the Cabo de San Sebastian I was anchored very close to the inlet noted by Captain Vancouver, but I think that what happened to him happened to me, as it was not possible for the launch to find a passage. There was only a bar of large and small rocks which embraced the whole entrance. On this the sea broke and prevented ingress. From outside it looked as if it might be a river.⁵⁸

August 1, I succeeded in anchoring in the Puerto de Trinidad in lat. $41^{\circ} 08' N$. Here I took water and wood. On the 4th I made sail, resolved to finish reconnoitering the piece of coast to the Puerto de San Francisco, as to think of going up the coast to Fuca was impossible, according to what we had seen and in view of the settled winds from the north. To go out to sea, the only method of going up, would consume what remained of summer.

On August 9 I entered Bodega where I found the schooner *Sutil* under the command of Second Lieutenant Don Juan Matute. He told me that under a commission given him he had made the plan of that *ensenada* and lagoon, as well as that of San Juan Francisco⁵⁹ which he had discovered. I therefore did not do it. On the 10th I departed for San Francisco with Matute and his schooner in convoy, and on the 11th anchored in that port. On the 22d I requested the schooner of Matute to finish exploring the arms which had not been examined, as his vessel was the most appropriate for the purpose. These I explored as far as they were navigable with the schooner, dispatching the launch with a pilot to finish the extremities, which end in various unnavigable creeks. Having finished the exploration I returned to my ship on September 3, and on the 5th made sail for Monterey. On the 6th I anchored there, with

⁵⁷ Evidently at the mouth of Rogue River in $42^{\circ} 25'$.

⁵⁸ Crescent City Bay.

⁵⁹ Tomales Bay. There is no "San Juan Francisco" so I conclude that either Don Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra had been made a saint or that the "San" is an error for "Don." It may be noted that Matute and Goycochea also called it "San Juan Francisco."

no other object than to transport some timber to the presidio on Santa Barbara Channel. On the 23d, having taken this aboard, I set sail for the channel and on the 28th anchored there. October 2, having unloaded it, I set sail for San Diego and on October 6 anchored in that port. Having made the plans⁶⁰ I made sail for San Blas on the 24th.

In a dispatch received from the captain of the schooner, Don Juan de Sayas, he informed me that he had anchored in San Francisco September 18, having had the good fortune to have explored all the coast in accordance with his instructions. All the coast I have explored with exactness has soundings as far as Trinidad, as appears on the plan. The bottom is of sand and mud and the rocks which can be seen are close to shore, all of which is very steep. In no place can shelter be found as it is open to the ruling winds from the third and fourth quarters. Five leagues out no bottom can be found. From Trinidad to Punta Delgada I could not anchor, as instructed, nor even hold my position by tacking, on account of the strong wind from the northwest. The coast from 44° to Trinidad is high; many sand hills and many pine forests can be seen on it. From Trinidad to near Punta Delgada it is extremely high, particularly Cabo Mendocino. The currents we encountered on the coast are rapid at Cabo Diligencia and Cabo Mendocino where they carried us to the south; at other places they were scarcely noticeable. I was not able to observe the variation of the compass, as the sky and the horizon were covered with clouds. All the coast is clean, and even at night you can continue sailing in on the lookout for it, in the knowledge that if the night is clear you can see it three leagues away as has happened to me.

The Puerto de Trinidad is quite small; no vessel can be moored so as to turn with the wind or tide. The bottom for the most part is rock. The land consists of quite high and extended hills full of pines and oaks. All kinds of fish are scarce. The settlement in the port consists of four small houses of prepared timber. By a piece of sawed timber we ascertained that Captain Vancouver had been there, his men, so the Indians told us, having sawed it. All the coast explored is inhabited by heathen. We had communication with them from 44° to 41°, presenting them with baize and cloth for which they came alongside every day in their canoes. They are quite agreeable, corpulent, robust and well made. Their clothing consists of some deerskins, although most of them go naked—even on the beaches we saw them so. They are much given to trading but are very poor, fetching nothing of any value. Very seldom do they bring out sea-otter skins, but usually a kind of small reed basket, and much wild tobacco which they prize highly, because they all smoke frequently in a tube made of stone in which they cram the tobacco. No one was seen to bring fish nor to have fishing tackle, no doubt because of the ferocity of the surf on the coast. We gave them hooks, explaining by signs how to use them, but they threw them away, giving us to understand that they were of no use.

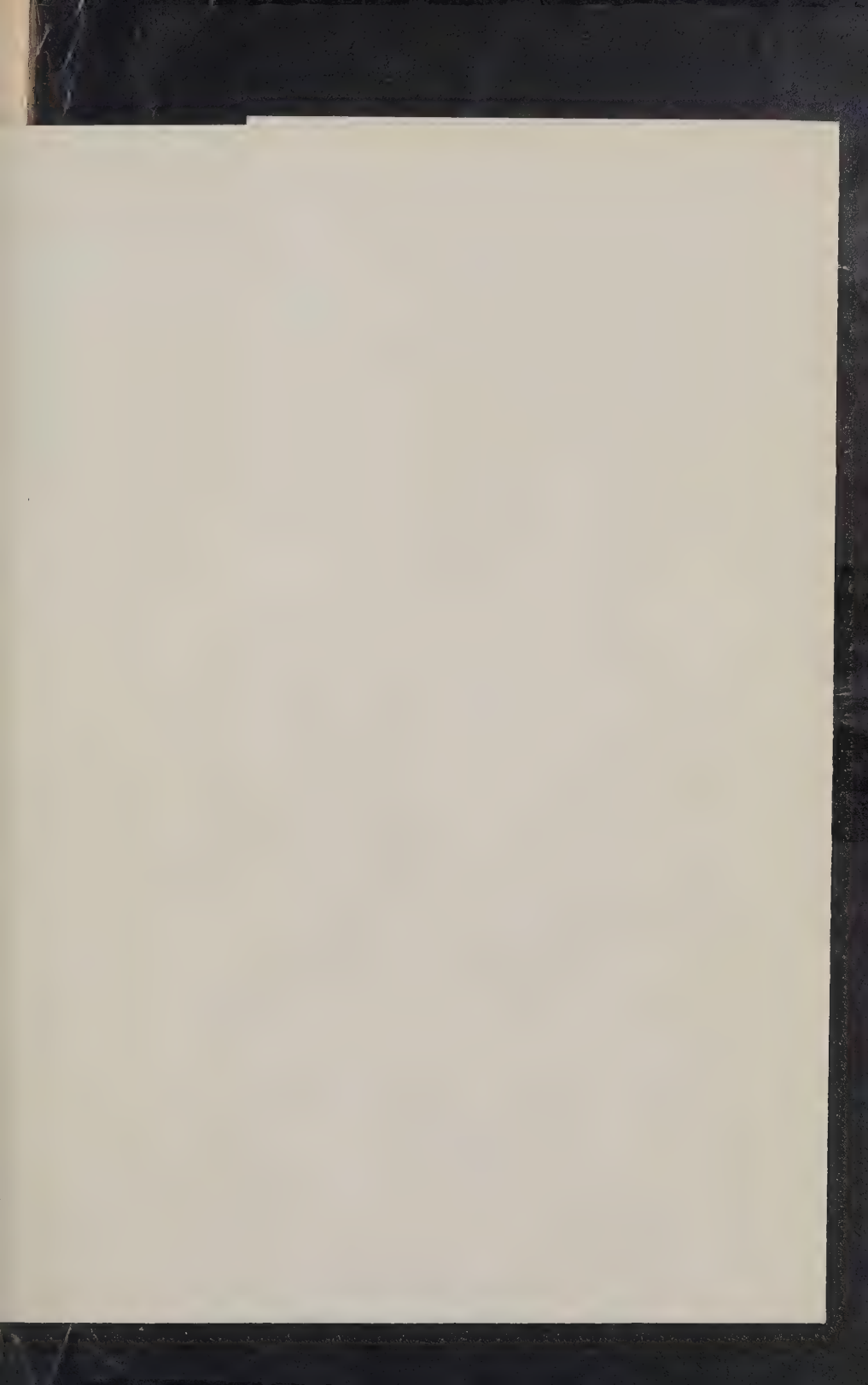
⁶⁰ This plan together with that of Monterey is included in the volume in the Library of Congress with those of Martinez y Zayas.

The same thing happened in Trinidad where they told us that what was good were shell fish and the large deer which they told us were in the hills. The natives we saw in this port numbered two hundred of both sexes. We found them civil and obliging, as they assisted us in taking water and loading the barrels in the launch. They were rewarded and were content. From Trinidad to Punta Delgada we saw not one canoe but many smokes which seemed to indicate that the country was inhabited. The canoes we saw resemble launches except that they are of one piece and have no prow. They are not very fast because they are somewhat overburdened with the timber of which they are made. On approaching land they let them run with a breaker and this carries them to the beach. No Indian was seen with a gun, as happens with those above, nor with anything given by any power.⁶¹ This makes me believe that they have had intercourse with very few ships, although they were not surprised to see ours.

Brigantine *Activo*, November 4, 1793, at anchor in Puerto San Blas.

FRANCISCO DE ELIZA. (Rúbrica)

⁶¹ A quaint expression which I preserve; the writer means of course a European, or civilized power.



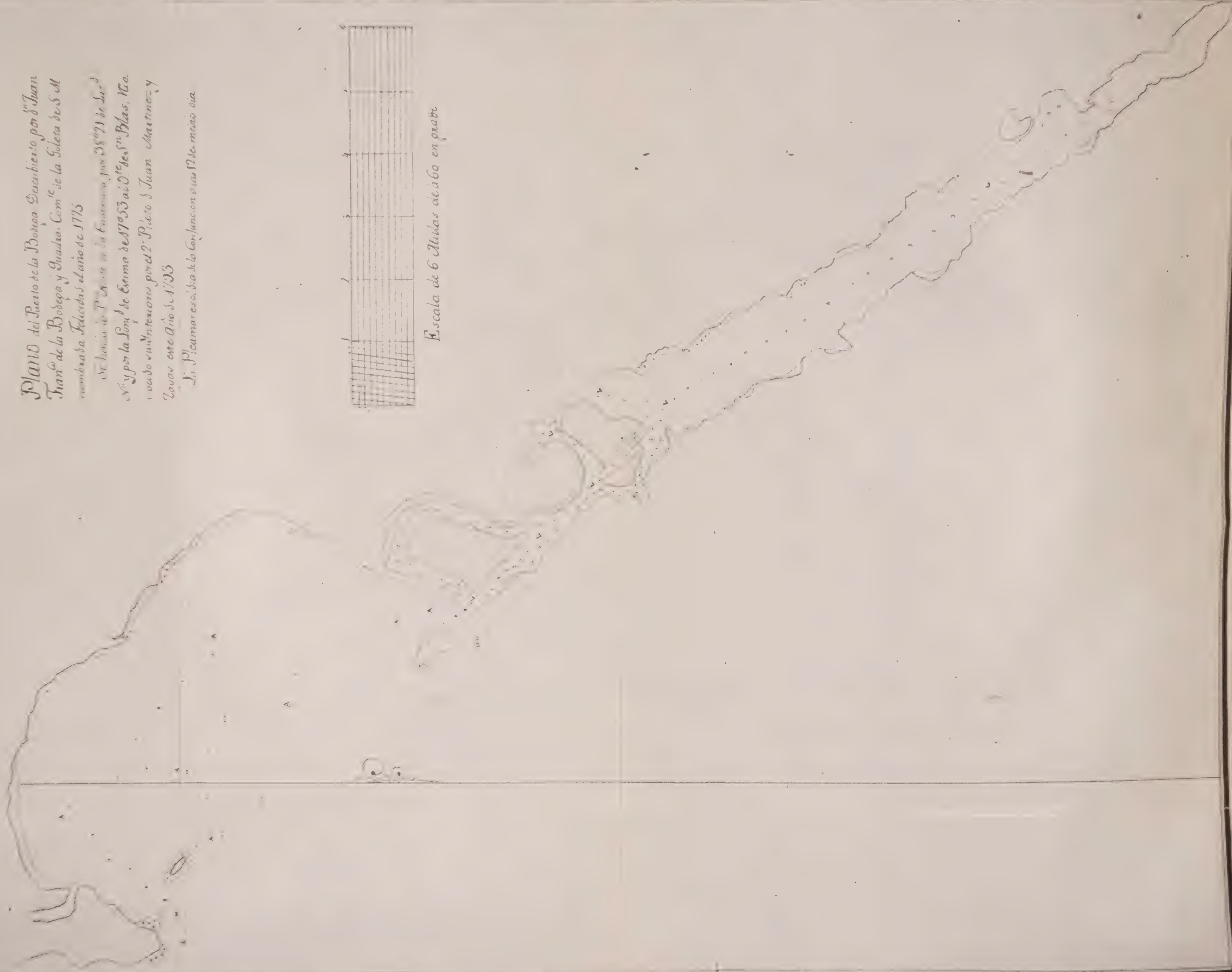
Plano del Puerto de la Bodega Descubierto por don Juan
Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra Com^{te} de la Sileta de S. M.
nombreada Felicidad el año de 1773

Se halla en el P. N. de la Ensenada por 38° 21' de Lat.^d
N. y por la Long^{itud} de Exmo de 119° 53' al O. de S. Blas, No.
vado en las Naciones por el 2.º P. N. de Juan Martinez y
Lagos en el año de 1773

En el P. N. de la Ensenada en la Confluencia de las 12 de medio día



Escala de 6 Millas de abo en grado



PART II

THE ATTEMPT TO COLONIZE BODEGA BAY

Bodega Bay has a most interesting history. Although many do not agree with me, I believe that Drake anchored in this bay in 1579. The ceremonies of the Indians so graphically described by Francis Fletcher, his chaplain, were very similar to those practiced by the Pomo Indians who lived not far from this bay. Whether he repaired his ship there or at some spot farther north must, however, always remain a moot question. The place first comes into the acknowledged field of history in 1603 when the crew of the *Tres Reyes*, Vizcaino's small vessel which had become separated from his flagship, steered into it and discovered Tomales Bay. Thinking this to be a river, the boatswain named it "Rio de San Sebastian." In 1775 the bay was rediscovered by Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra while returning from the north. Several plans and sketches of the Puerto de Bodega, as he named it, have survived and there can be no doubt that what he meant by his *puerto* was what is sometimes described as a lagoon to the north of Bodega Bay. The officials of the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey took the liberty of applying Bodega's name, not to his *puerto*, but to the body of water outside and which opens out a few miles to the east. This was uniformly referred to by the Spaniards as an *ensenada*. The lagoon was formerly a large body of water, even as late as 1850, and in places it was quite deep. Constant washing in of soil during the rainy season and blowing in of sand from the dunes facing the ocean have combined to fill up the entire eastern portion and a large part of the northern end. At low tide this entire latter part is now above water. Thus it is that some of the topographical features shown on Bodega's sketch of the bay have disappeared while the Punta de Cordon seems to have grown out considerably. It might be mentioned in this connection that Francisco Antonio Mourelle, who accompanied Bodega, was like me, of the opinion that this was Drake's Bay, although his reasons for thinking so were not very sound.

The next person known to have been in the bay was the notorious Captain James Colnett. In July, 1790, Colnett's ship, the *Argonaut*, was released at San Blas and he set sail for Nootka convoying a launch which had been rigged as a schooner by the Spaniards. The vessels, especially the launch, were considerably damaged during a gale and Colnett took refuge in Bodega, probably the nearest port. Here he cut some spars for his vessel and made some temporary repairs, sufficient to enable him to reach Clayoquot Sound in October. When he arrived at Nootka January 4, 1791, he related his experiences, including his stay at Bodega, to Francisco de Eliza, the commandant, and on the map of the coast which he gave him before he departed for China in March, Bodega must have cut quite a figure. It took apparently some time for the story of Colnett's stay in Bodega to reach San Francisco via the Indian route and then it had to go to Mexico, no doubt duly embellished. I thought for some time

that these Indian stories referred to a later visit than that of Colnett. Archibald Menzies, who visited Bodega Bay with Lieutenant Peter Puget October 20, 1793, stated that a Captain Gibson had anchored there some years before and had described the place with tolerable precision. As he said that Gibson was on his way from San Blas to the north it became clear, as soon as I knew that Colnett had stopped there in 1790, that Menzies had simply made a mistake in the name of the captain or else Gibson was one of Colnett's officers.*

Colnett made trouble wherever he went, and his story of his stay in Bodega evidently aroused the fears of the Spaniards that some of his countrymen might be induced by his story to come over and take possession of the place, in view of the lack of precision in the words of the Convention of 1790 regarding the respective rights of Spain and Great Britain on this part of the coast. The viceroy therefore decided to occupy it with Spanish forces, and preparations were made in the winter of 1792 and 1793 to carry this plan into effect. These were rather more elaborate than usual. Juan Bautista Matute was sent in advance in the schooner *Sutil* about April 1 to erect some buildings, and later in the month the *Aranzazu* under Salvador Melendez Valdés was dispatched with the garrison and the artisans to form a regular establishment. The vicissitudes of the enterprise are set forth in a report made by Matute on his return to San Blas, November 7, after having abandoned it. This, together with some collateral documents of little importance, is contained in the same volume as the journals of the 1793 exploring expedition. Felipe Goycochea, the commandant of the Santa Barbara presidio, was sent up by land with a few soldiers to cooperate. His diary is also in the Archives in Mexico in Vol. 70, *Seccion Historia*. Translations of both will be found below.

The none too coherent narrative of Matute does not enable us to fix the site on which he attempted to form his establishment. He was so full of his discovery of Tomales Bay that he neglected to leave us any details of his operations in the lagoon. The journal of Menzies, however, throws a little light on the matter. Some Indians encountered on the sand spit repeated the name Spaniards [*Espanoles* no doubt] and frequently pointed up the lagoon. These actions seem to prove that Matute had his temporary establishment farther up the lagoon. Menzies also noticed tracks of horses and cattle along the west side opposite the sandspit, and found standing on Bodega Head a cross made out of a pole with a cask stave fastened to it by a rope yarn to serve for the crosspiece. The grass and brush on the headland had also been recently burned. From the account of Goycochea it appears that Matute had erected some kind of barracks near the south end of the sand dunes two miles from the end of Bodega Head.

Goycochea proceeded up Richardson Bay from Sausalito for a short distance and then over the mountains to Bolinas Bay. From here he went up Pine Gulch Creek and down Olema Creek to Tomales Bay and thence up the

* That part of Menzies' journal covering the visit to California was printed in the *Quarterly* of the California Historical Society in January, 1924 (Vol. II, No. 4).

west side of the bay to near Tomales Point, where Matute came over to see him. He now retraced his steps but evidently ascended Inverness Ridge to see the flat land to the west of it in the neighborhood of Drake's Bay. Ascending Lagunitas Creek a short distance he crossed it and followed Tomales Bay along the slope of the hills to the east of it. Rounding the Esteros Americano and San Antonio he reached Bodega Lagoon somewhere near the north end. He says he then followed the coast north for six leagues. This distance would have brought him to the Russian River, but as his league was only about one mile long he probably never saw it. Returning he followed the shore of the lagoon and passed around the two *esteros* just mentioned. After proceeding south for some distance he turned east and crossed the hills. He does not explain how he reached Sausalito again, but he probably went by the Petaluma Valley and crossed the hills west of San Rafael.

No further attempt was made to colonize the place. The abandonment of the project was not, I presume, due so much to the difficulties enlarged on by Matute as to the change in relations with Great Britain and a final amicable settlement of the disputes with her over the northwest coast. It was reserved for the Russians to take possession of the place and become a thorn in the side of the Spaniards.

LETTER OF JUAN BAUTISTA MATUTE

On my arrival at this port it has been called to my attention that the advices sent from the Puerto de Bodega, July 23, and from San Francisco, August 23, giving the results of the commission with which I had been entrusted, had not been received at the office of the commandant, although I supposed that they had all gone together in the same post, dispatched by the governor of California August 26. The delay gives me an opportunity again to present an account of my commission and the occurrences which took place while I was carrying it out. You will therefore please advise the viceroy of New Spain as follows. Nothing happened during the voyage of sixty-four days from my departure from the department to my arrival at Bodega. I did not find there any vessel or any foreign establishment, and am of the opinion that there will never be any there, as the port is not capacious enough for larger vessels than the *Sutil*, and has no timber or wood near the anchorage. As the lack of this made it impossible for me to build a house and live there, the same would be experienced by foreigners. The signs of some foreign vessel having been in the port are reduced to my having seen that the only small trees in the interior of the port had been sawed off. Afterwards I learned that this had been done by the Englishman, Colnett, who took refuge there during a storm. This fact is noted on his plan of 1790, which at the present time has served all our vessels sent to that destination.

My regret in finding myself inactive in such a place, with instructions as efficacious as meritorious from an officer of such merit, stimulated me to undertake an expedition with the schooner's small boat towards the southeast, where a very narrow entrance to a port, river or lagoon, without the usual surf, could

be seen within the outer Ensenada de Bodega itself. I was there three days, incurring much risk, and found it to be a port well provided with the facilities for the discharge of my commission, and a very good one for a ship of not more than fifteen feet draft, the depth of water at the entrance. Nevertheless this entrance is dangerous, because, in my opinion, during the fresh winds from the northwest and other quarters, it must have a bar of less depth, although not such a one as is shown on the chart of Pilot Don Juan Zayas which marks twelve feet.⁶²

The frigate *Aranzazu* reached the Puerto de Bodega July 16, bringing the troops, artisans, food and supplies and an order to assist me with the crew of the vessel in building a house. She had to anchor five or six leagues from the site of the Puerto Nuevo⁶³ where the establishment can be made. As I thought it impossible to take her into the former port, in order to carry out the founding in compliance with the orders, I arranged to deposit the troops, artisans, food and supplies she carried in the Puerto de San Francisco. It became now apparent that the *Aranzazu* not being suitable and the *Sutil* alone being insufficient, it was indispensable to employ the latter and another like her in founding the establishment. An express order was nevertheless necessary to enter that port⁶⁴ with any vessel and a boat, or a launch larger than that of the schooners, to assist them in entering and leaving it if such were to be employed in the business.

The *Aranzazu* departed on the 24th of the month and I remained awaiting the arrival of Lieutenant Don Francisco Eliza so as to draw up with his aid the plan of the port. August 8, the commandant of the presidio of Santa Barbara, Don Felipe Goycochea, arrived with ten men on horseback at the west point of the Puerto Nuevo, after two days journey from the shore opposite San Francisco to which they had been transported by the launches of the frigates *Princesa* and *Aranzazu*. I pointed out to him the distance at which timber and wood were only to be found in Bodega and which had prevented me from forming an establishment owing to the difficulty of transporting it to the port; the embarrassment⁶⁵ which had arisen about doing this in the other port, and the decision I had taken to explain this to my superior so that in view of my information he could decide what was best to be done. August 9, the schooner *Activa* arrived at Bodega. With her aid I finished making the plan of the port, which should reach you with the other advices.⁶⁶ With the

⁶² Tomales Bay. From the instructions given by Arrillaga to Goycochea August 4 after the arrival in San Francisco of the *Aranzazu* it appears that Matute's pilot, Juan Carrasco, either conducted this examination or made another.

⁶³ Matute's name for Tomales Bay.

⁶⁴ Presumably the Puerto de Bodega and not the Puerto Nuevo is meant, but why fresh authority for a large vessel was required when the *Aranzazu* evidently had it, and was much larger than the *Sutil*, is not obvious.

⁶⁵ This, I presume, refers to the necessity of new orders as mentioned at the end of the preceding paragraph and indicates that possibly even in Note 64 he was talking about the Puerto Nuevo.

⁶⁶ This is not attached to this document and the original ones of July 23 and August 23 have not been found.

assistance of her launch the departure of my schooner was facilitated. This was no small help, due to the dangerous position in which the vessel lay, and is necessary in crossing the bar at the entrance in entering and leaving. Besides, I could not lose the opportunity, as the lack of wood for ordinary use would oblige me to depart and expose the vessel and the crew to danger of shipwreck, just as we were on a shoal upon entering the port. Having returned to the Puerto de San Francisco on the 11th, I at once endeavored, as much as my poor health would permit, to enlarge my notices, giving my opinion on what I thought opportune in carrying out the building of the establishment. I thought of awaiting in the port the orders of the commandant of marine, but I afterwards found this difficult, as being sick, my health would not improve in that climate. I therefore kept the schooner ready for the time when these orders should arrive at that port and could be executed.

I asked that the establishment, from the time of the founding, should be provided with some leather-jacket cavalry to induce some respect in the numerous Indians in that port, and an officer of sufficient rank to command them. I also asked for the crews of the two schooners and an auxiliary boat; a *fragata*, which could carry a good launch for crossing the Puerto de San Francisco, manned with fifteen seamen; a train of fifty mules with eight Indian neophytes from the other missions to transport food and supplies for the aid of the establishment while there; an ecclesiastic, a surgeon, ten soldiers of this *compañía fija*,⁶⁷ five good artisans, and seamen chosen from the natives in the neighborhood of San Blas, because these are more useful than the Europeans who come from Vera Cruz.

Being of the opinion that these accessories, which I consider indispensable, are going to occasion great expense, and on the other hand reflecting that it is necessary to occupy the territory which offers such advantages to foreigners, it seems to me that it would be sufficient to construct a launch in the Puerto de San Francisco, in order to occupy the Puerto Nuevo and Bodega from that point, founding one or two missions, to be recommended⁶⁸ by the government of California. I offered, however, to continue this commission, if my services should be considered useful, in any way that my superiors might think advisable, regretting that although my will was strong I had given up to the present time such small proofs of its efficacy.

Finally to excuse my coming here from San Francisco I may add that it was due both to my desire not to occasion more expense to the royal treasury and to get close to the point where the orders originate. I tried to bring the troops and the artisans divided between the *Sutil* and *Mexicana*, but finding this was not so easy I left the food and the troops, who are occupied in service at that point, and brought four artisans who are still in receipt of their daily wages.

May our Lord grant your worship many years, San Blas Nov. 7, 1793.

JUAN BAUTISTE MATUTE (Rúbrica)

To the provisional commandant of the department of San Blas.

⁶⁷ The San Francisco establishment, I presume.

⁶⁸ Perhaps "satisfactory to."

THE DIARY WHICH LIEUTENANT DON FELIPE DE GOYCOECHEA, DELEGATED TO EXPLORE THE MAINLAND FROM THE PUERTO DE SAN FRANCISCO TO THAT OF BODEGA, LAYS BEFORE THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNOR, DON JOSÉ JOAQUIN DE ARRILLAGA, AND IN PARTICULAR WHAT HE EXPERIENCED DURING IT.

August 5 of the present year, 1793, I embarked and landed on the opposite side of the Puerto de San Francisco with my party of ten soldiers and a sergeant.⁶⁹ Taking the shore of one of the arms of the port, which consists wholly of hills and ravines only serviceable for cattle, I ascended the highest part of the sierra, distant from the port about four leagues, and by a deep ravine of pine trees which was traversed with difficulty descended towards the sea shore, which faces the west. Having traveled about another four leagues we passed the night of this day, Monday, on the shore at the end of an inlet or lagoon which enters the land about a mile.⁷⁰ Some settlements of natives on this shore of the lagoon were noted, about twenty of whose inhabitants followed us, manifesting much wonderment at the horses and much fear. When spoken to by the interpreter, however, they lost their fear and offered to go forward with us, and this they did.

On the 6th at sunrise, taking a northerly direction, we continued along some low hills on the slope of the sierra, but by a good road, and as we found a lagoon called Puerto de San Francisco⁷¹ in about five or six leagues we took our rest there. This place is very well fitted for any kind of establishment. There are good lands for crops, a sufficient supply of water and a great abundance of wood—red pine, oak, madrone, laurel, willow, and a grove of hazelnut trees. I named it "Los Martires."⁷² Here there is a settlement which the natives had abandoned for the adjoining forests when we passed by it. I pacified them by means of the interpreter and ordered them to assemble in their settlement. Although they did not all do so I divided among them two strings of beads and some of our food. By doing this we were able to count in the surroundings, in little groups, about one hundred and fifty souls, more or less. With some labor we crossed in the afternoon a muddy little valley, for the natives had told us that there was a vessel at the mouth of the port and that by going this way we could talk with the captain, as the lagoon joined the sea and we could not cross it. Nevertheless⁷³ we went on in quest of the mouth of it, and having reached a settlement from whence the beach could be seen, we stopped for the night, having traveled about five or six leagues, leaving the lagoon and the entrance to the north of us at some distance.⁷⁴

⁶⁹ In his instructions Goycochea was ordered to take much of the route that he now followed, except that he was ordered to take the east side of Tomales Bay.

⁷⁰ Bolinas Lagoon.

⁷¹ This seems to be an error for "San Juan Francisco," as he later uses that name for it.

⁷² Near the present Olema.

⁷³ Perhaps he means, in spite of his orders. He certainly followed the west side of Tomales Bay. He must have known that he could not reach Bodega Bay that way by land; perhaps he misunderstood the natives.

⁷⁴ It is impossible to locate this place and several others mentioned by him on account of uncertainty about the length of his league. This could not, however, have been much more than one mile long. I suspect the stop was near Inverness.

All day of the 7th we traveled, making some ten or twelve leagues along an *ensenada*⁷⁵ with the wonderment of various settlements to be seen. I could count nine of them. Although the Indians accompanying us told us that these were prepared to give us battle, we passed by all of them without noticing any of the inhabitants in any warlike demonstration. Instead, they presented my men with pinole and some little fruits from the beach. I kept recompensing them with beads and food until we arrived in the afternoon at the mouth of the port where many people joined us.⁷⁶ Not having found the ship about which they had told me, I sent one of the natives with a letter to the commander of the vessel, Second Lieutenant Don Juan Matute, advising him that I brought a letter for him of the royal service and suggesting that if he could arrange it we would meet there, paying well the carrier of the letter who was very content with a blanket, some beads, etc.

On the 8th at about nine o'clock in the morning Don Juan Matute was seen on the other side of the port. I instantly sent some natives in two *balsas*⁷⁷ to bring him over if he wished to come, sending him at the same time the dispatch of the provisional governor in which he advised him of my commission. Matute having passed over to this side, I obtained from him a receipt for the dispatch and consulted with him about the contents of it, and about the deceit practiced on me by the natives who had assured me that I could not cross the lagoon because it made a turn and entered the sea. On Don Juan asking me if I was returning to San Francisco or not, I answered that I would not go back until I had discovered my mistake or had continued as far as the animals could carry me. After dinner we parted, he going to his destination, while I returned to the place from which I had departed the day before in the afternoon. Following the course of the lagoon by my previous circuitous route and having reached the hills on the shore of the inlet I found a peninsula where there is a very fine site but distant from firewood and timber. There are many deer there, some very good pasture and springs in all parts, very appropriate for raising cattle of all kinds and very extensive.⁷⁸

On the 9th, about twelve o'clock in the morning, we reached the same place where we had taken our siesta on the 6th and where the wide part of the lagoon ends. Turning to the northeast and following the lagoon along a narrow channel, but which contains much water, about eight or ten fathoms wide, and, on account of the bad ground, taking to the low hills at the end of it for a distance of about a league and a half, I reached the lagoon and crossed it in a small stream of very good fresh water which I named "San Roman."⁷⁹ In a little while day ended and we remained that night in a place we named "Tatemas," having traveled about four leagues.

On the morning of the 10th I set out towards the northwest along a range

⁷⁵ Here he must mean Tomales Bay proper.

⁷⁶ Near Tomales Point.

⁷⁷ A boat or raft made of reeds.

⁷⁸ He must refer to the level land west of Inverness Ridge, inside Drake's Bay.

⁷⁹ Evidently Lagunitas Creek.

of very high hills. We stopped for a rest in a ravine which I named "San Lorenzo,"⁸⁰ distant about six leagues from where we passed the night. In the afternoon we went on until after nine o'clock at night when we reached the Puerto de la Bodega, having traveled ten leagues.⁸¹ Here I found myself minus a ship. The natives told me through the interpreter that another one had arrived the day before and that the two had departed together. I saw some chickens and pigs which they told me they had left with them. As it was now very late at night and there was much fog and I was short of firewood, I asked the natives for some of this and for water. They gave me some of what the ship had left. We passed the night without unsaddling all the horses, as the people from six settlements had come to visit us. They were much delighted and asked me to remain another day so that all the natives roundabout could see our horses. I told them that I would not leave very early, so as to allow time for them to come, but that I could not stay all day because I had nothing for my animals to eat. They offered to go fishing for us for something to eat, gave me two bunches of feathers and some stones out of which they make beads.⁸² I presented them with some beads and some of what we carried to eat, and with this they were much pleased.

On the 11th I took a turn around the lagoon of the port which they call Bodega, and from the slope of the hills about a league away I sighted the sand dunes at the entrance to that port, where Second Lieutenant Don Juan Matute had been and where he had his barracks. I explored also the mouth of a little rivulet at the end of the sand dunes, and following it to the north found its source.⁸³ It runs for about two leagues and rises in a pine grove which grows on the sierra. From here I calculated it to be three leagues to the port, and that it would be easy to carry the timber along the beach by oxen. In the whole district, however, there is no wood for firewood or building, but it has good soil and other facilities for an establishment.

On the 12th I returned after having examined more than six leagues to the north and the shore of the Puerto de la Bodega. I then passed along the beach around the head of two lagoons or closed inlets.⁸⁴ These extend to the north for about five or six leagues and are between Bodega and the Puerto de San Juan Francisco. Having rounded the ends of both of them I assured myself of a good passage by the mainland around all those inlets or lagoons, passing all of them until I was as far on as about two leagues from the Puerto Primero de San Juan Francisco or "Barra,"⁸⁵ as they call it.

On the 13th, endeavoring to shorten my route to the Puerto de San Francisco I made little progress, as not only were the animals tired but there was

⁸⁰ This place is impossible to identify.

⁸¹ Apparently near the present town of Bodega.

⁸² *Sp., huezos de abalorios del que ellos hazen*; his meaning is not clear.

⁸³ Salmon Creek.

⁸⁴ The Estero Americano and the Estero San Antonio; they are now only about a mile long each.

⁸⁵ What he means by this it is impossible to say unless he refers to the first place from which he saw the bay near Olema.

a pine forest which we could not penetrate. It took me all day to mount the sierra, having marked the country so as to shorten the road and make it more convenient, so that in three days at the most Bodega can be reached with ease from the Puerto de San Francisco.

On the 14th about nine or ten in the morning we reached the Puerto de San Francisco without having encountered anything new.

NOTE

It is my opinion that the road, when once built and shortened from the landing place in the Puerto de San Francisco to the place I named Los Martires, where the lagoon or Puerto de San Juan Francisco ends, will be only eleven or twelve leagues long and that this place is the most appropriate for founding any mission or establishment, as all around it there is a sufficient number of natives. Judging from the degree of intelligence they displayed they are not of the worst class. They are very poorly off for seeds, their principal food being fish, with which they told me the beach abounded. Neither do the people seem to be very warlike although they preserve little harmony amongst themselves, even at short distances those of some settlements do not go to others because of fear.⁸⁶

From this place to Bodega the road is all over the hills, and not bad. The distance must be about fifteen or sixteen leagues. The natives are the same, the most of them being found along the beach, although it may be inferred from the trails that there are some living away from it but distant from the road. I did not observe that the land in the whole district offered any advantages, other than its abundance of pasture and springs. I found no difference between the Indians of Bodega and the others. They are equally poor in seeds and have very little to cover them. They are much addicted to fishing and I saw some nets. The site, as I have stated, lacks firewood although it seems to have other qualities for growing crops. I found some natives in the neighborhood.

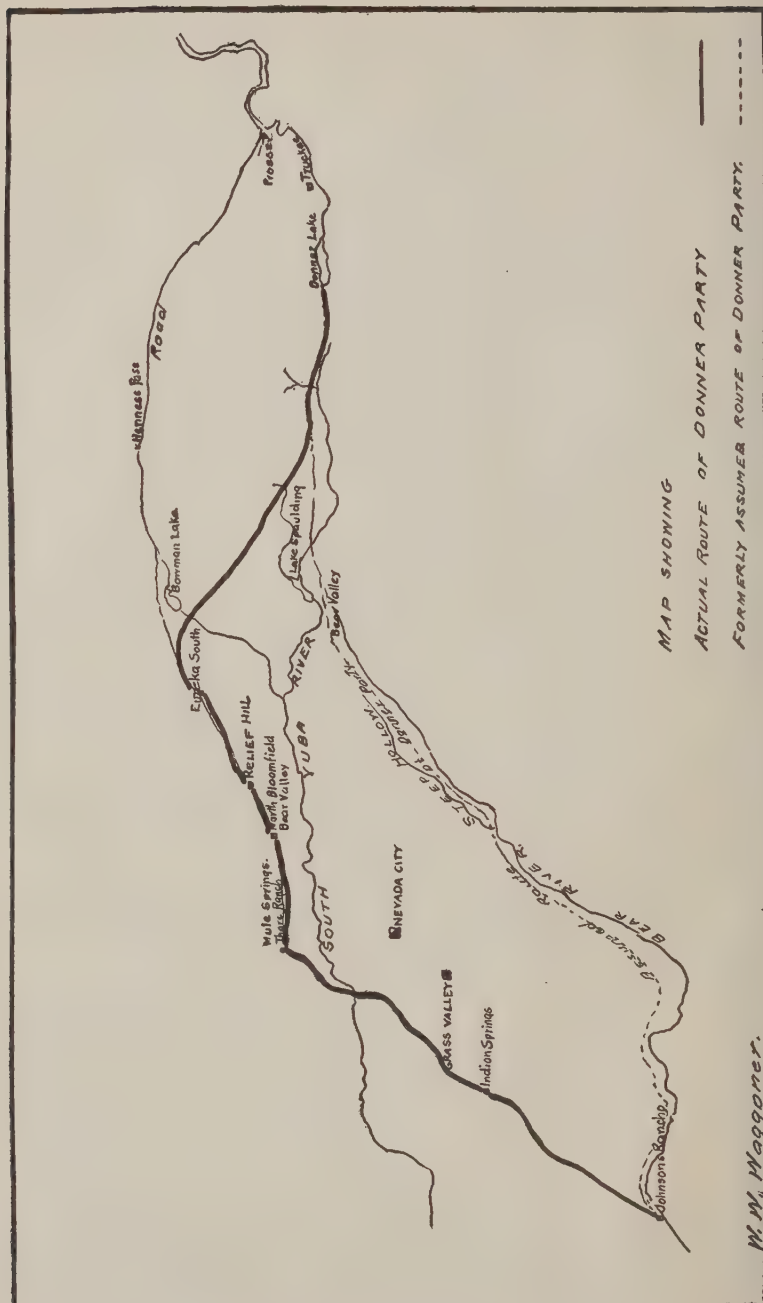
The above is all I can communicate to your worship, not having anything else worthy of your attention and which could be of service to the government.

San Francisco, August 16, 1793.

FELIPE DE GOYCOECHEA.

Copy of the original August 16, 1793, José Joaquin de Arrillaga (Rúbrica)

⁸⁶ These Indians belonged to a branch of the Coast Miwok stock. The last remark would indicate some sub-tribal division, evidently between those near Olema and those towards Tomales Point to whom he had previously referred as expected to prove hostile. The Bodega Bay Indians were also of Coast Miwok stock. The interpreter evidently understood all the Indians found on the journey.



THE DONNER PARTY AND RELIEF HILL

On the road between North Bloomfield and Graniteville is a large plateau which culminates in what is known as "Cherry Hill." On the U. S. Topographical Map, the survey for which was made in 1885-1887, this plateau is called "Relief Hill." It is in Nevada County on the so-called "San Juan Ridge" which rises high between the gorges of the South and Middle Forks of the Yuba River.

Who were relieved on this hill, and under what conditions?

During the nineties, I was told by some of the old residents of the section, that it was a portion of the Donner party that was relieved. At that time the people were not much interested in locating points of interest of early events, and since that time all of the old residents have died. I have made inquiries of the present generation, but have not found anyone who could give a satisfactory reason for the name, or who could recall the Donner story.

The one great authority on the Donner party is the book by General Charles F. McGlashan. His *History of the Donner Party* was published in 1879, or thirty-two years after the events occurred, and devotes its attention principally to the trip from the East, and to the privations, starvation and death at Donner Lake. It is very meager as to the route taken by the various relief parties in reaching Johnson's Rancho on Bear River, near the margin of the Sacramento Valley. It has always been assumed that the route was down Bear River. This will be shown to be untenable.

In order to locate the route, consider the topography over which the parties had to travel to reach the valley and Sutter's Fort.

The western slope of the Sierra was densely covered with timber. There was but little underbrush. The country was open so that a person could get anywhere without much difficulty. There are two rivers draining the area. The Bear River flows in a southwesterly direction, and heads in what is now known as Bear Valley, about twenty miles to the west of the summit. It drains an area of medium elevation. The second stream is the South Yuba River, which flows in a more westerly direction. Its South Fork bears around the head of Bear River, and has its source at the summit or Donner Pass.

The Bear River has two tributaries that enter it from the north at a low elevation below the general snow line. Along its southern boundary is a long, narrow ridge, upon which the Southern Pacific Railroad is located.

The South Yuba River has a far greater drainage area, with deep ravines and canyons on both sides. It drains an area of much higher elevation, and greater snowfall.

In 1860 S. G. Elliott published a map of Central California for the purpose of promoting the construction of railroads. It gave not only the railroads completed and projected, but also the wagon roads connecting the various towns, together with statistical data, compiled by the county assessors. The map shows that the road coming up the Truckee River, and entering the territory, branched at this time at the mouth of the Little Truckee River. One

branch continued up the river, passing Truckee Lake, or as it is now called, "Donner Lake," to the summit. Thence bearing southward, it crossed the North Fork of the American River, continued to Forest Hill, thence to Auburn, and on to Sutter's Fort. The second, and the more important road, followed up the Little Truckee River, over the summit at Henness Pass to Jackson's ranch, where it also divided, one branch going to Alleghany and on to North San Juan. The second branch, bearing to the west, passed Weaver Lake, climbed over Bald Mountain, passed Graniteville, Relief Hill, Columbia Hill, and Cherokee, until it connected with the road leading to North San Juan. From thence it extended southward to what would be a natural ford at Jones' Bar, on the South Yuba River, and continuing on, passed Rough and Ready, and Indian Springs, and arrived at Johnson's Rancho on the Bear River. It is extremely probable that the routes traveled in 1846 followed the above lines. There is no road shown on Elliott's map between the summit, Bear Valley and Dutch Flat, or any road connecting with Johnson's Rancho via that route.*

Johnson's Rancho, situated on the north bank of Bear River, seems to have been an important trading post. It was located about three miles east of the present town of Wheatland; Camp Far West was later located a mile to the eastward. Here a company of the 1st U. S. Infantry was stationed until the summer of 1852, when it was transferred to the northern part of the state.

There were no white inhabitants in the mountains in 1846. In 1867 it was estimated that there were five hundred Indians in the county, although they were rapidly dying off, due to the white man's vices. There was quite a settlement of Indians at Johnson's Rancho. A tribe lived along the South Yuba, the Oustomahs lived at the Campoodie west of Nevada City, and there was a large and important settlement at Indian Springs.

The Donner party was a portion of a great train of emigrants who headed for the Pacific Coast in the spring of 1846. While crossing the plains it was comprised of five hundred and eighteen wagons. In Western Wyoming, or Eastern Utah, a portion of this large train comprising forty wagons took a new route known as the "Hastings Cutoff" going by way of the Great Salt Lake, and over the Humboldt Desert, for Sutter's Fort. This section became known as the Donner party.

As the fall approached, while out on the desert, they found that they were short of provisions to last them until they reached Sutter's Fort. William McCutcheon and C. F. Stanton volunteered to cross the Sierra, and traveling ahead on horseback reached the Fort, where they made their troubles known to Captain Sutter. McCutcheon being too ill to return, Stanton was supplied with two Indian vaqueros and seven mules, five of which were laden with supplies, and returned to the party on the 19th of October.

The party trudged up the Truckee River. On the 26th of October they reached Prosser Creek, in a heavy snow storm. There were six inches of snow

*The Henness Pass road was easy traveling over soil-covered area, while the Donner Pass road was over rugged rock exposures.

on the ground and two to five feet on the summit. After much time and labor, they were forced to construct abodes in the snow, near what is now known as Donner Lake. They slaughtered their stock, and Captain Sutter's mules, and prepared to make camp for the winter.

There were eighty-one people in the party, of whom only forty-eight later reached the California valley settlements. Repeated attempts were made by them to cross the Sierra. Finally realizing that they did not have food enough to last all of the party through the winter a "Forlorn Hope" was organized to go to Sutter's Fort, and make known the distress. There was among the party some one who was acquainted with snow traveling. They split their ox bows and, lacing them with rawhide, made snow shoes after the form of the Canadian snow shoes.

On December 16, with eight feet of snow on the level, a band of seventeen people, including the two Indians, forming the "Forlorn Hope," started on their perilous trip. Only seven of the seventeen reached Johnson's Rancho.

The party crossed the summit, and descended into a valley. Before them was a vast expanse of snow; down the center of the expanse was a stream that flowed to the Sacramento Valley. It was the South Fork of the South Yuba River.

They followed the stream like true mountaineers. They went in single file, the leader breaking the path until exhausted, when he would fall back to the rear and rest. They would follow along the northern bank on the southern exposure where there would be less snow and better traveling. They also followed along the crest of the ridge, thereby not having so many ravines to cross. The snow was estimated at from thirty to fifty feet deep. At one time they intersected a deep gorge and fairly slid down to the bottom, and with great difficulty reached the summit on the western side. This gorge must have been Canyon Creek, or as the old maps have it, "Big Canyon Creek." Had the party been traveling along the crest of the ridge on the northern side of Bear River, they would not have crossed Steep Hollow until they were well out of the snow, and the gruesome tragedies would not have occurred.

After reaching the crest of Celina Ridge they continued their journey, passing Graniteville, and proceeding over Relief Hill to Cherokee, where they were getting out of the snow, and soon found the road. Working southward, they discovered foot prints, and finally came in sight of an Indian village. Here they rested for seven days; they were rendered every assistance, and given acorn bread for food. The strongest member of the party, W. H. Eddy, started for Johnson's Rancho, accompanied by two Indians, who fairly carried him along until they reached that place. Four men immediately started for the Indian village, a distance of about fifteen miles, and brought in the remaining six the next day. This distance approximates the location of what is known as "Indian Springs" today.

James F. Reed, who was one of the leaders of the train on the trip westward, was attacked by John Snyder, bad feeling having been engendered through a dis-

pute as to the route. Reed wanted to go through what is now Henness Pass, while Snyder and others wanted to go by Donner Lake and Truckee Pass. Reed killed Snyder practically in self defense. It was most unfortunate that the train did not follow Reed's advice; he followed the road that had been used by the early trappers as described above. He was banished from the train and from his family. He traveled on horseback, got across without difficulty, and finally reached Sutter's Fort, where he later made contact with William McCutcheon, who had gone ahead for supplies with C. F. Stanton. Captain Sutter gave them supplies and animals to go to the relief of the train, which was expected to be in what they called "Bear Valley." Reed and McCutcheon with two Indians, thirty horses, and one mule, started from Johnson's Rancho for the rescue. Nothing happened until they reached "Bear Valley," where there was two feet of snow. Here they met a man by the name of "Curtis" and his wife, who were stranded, their oxen having broken away from them. After various attempts at bucking the snow, one night the Indians deserted them, along with a lot of their horses. Not being accustomed to snow traveling, they cached their supplies in the Curtis wagon and returned to Sutter's Fort. Reed reported to Captain Sutter, who advised him to go to Yerba Buena (now San Francisco) and present the case to the naval commander. While negotiations were pending, word came of the arrival of the "Forlorn Hope," which brought matters to a head. The necessary aid was furnished, and Reed returned to Johnson's Rancho for the second trip. Upon arriving at the Rancho he found that a party had already been sent with relief.

It appears that when the "Forlorn Hope" arrived at the rancho, a messenger was immediately sent to Sutter's Fort to get aid. Captain Sutter and Alcalde Sinclair supplied the provisions, and six men volunteered to go to the rescue. Upon arriving at Johnson's Rancho, the party was increased to fifteen, with Reasin P. Tucker as Captain. In time they were ready to start on their journey well laden with provisions.

The directions for the journey could be stated as: "Take the road and follow it past the Indian Village; cross a large stream, then follow up along the crest of the ridge to where you will strike the trail in the snow, and continue along the ridge, with the stream on the right until you reach the pass or summit." They swam the horses over the stream, and on the fifth day made camp at Mule Springs. Then in three days they reached "Bear Valley," where they found the Curtis wagon after digging ten feet in the snow. The bears had also found the wagon, and had gotten away with the precious provisions.

In five more days they reached the summit. On the journey they made caches of provisions by hanging them up in the trees out of the reach of the bears, for the return trip.

It is generally supposed that this "Bear Valley" was located at the source of Bear River. It should be remembered that this was an unknown country. It was in reality located along Humbug Creek where North Bloomfield now stands.

Bear River area is remarkable for the absence of springs, while along San Juan Ridge there are many. Among them are those at the Thore ranch, near Cherokee, and along Spring Creek, near Columbia Hill. The Thore ranch seems to fit the location of "Mule Springs," at the margin of the snow line, being the place where Reed and McCutcheon left "an ornery, obstreperous mule." The distance between "Mule Springs" and "Bear Valley" is given as twelve miles, which checks with the distance between the Thore place and North Bloomfield.

On February 22, 1847, the same day that Captain Tucker and his party were returning with twenty-one of the unfortunates, Reed and his party, which consisted of ten men, started on their relief journey. They made "Mule Springs" in three days, and there they left their saddles and bridles and a lot of provisions. The next day they began their trip over the snow with eleven horses and mules, lightly packed, and made "Bear Valley," where they met Messrs. Glover and Rhodes, belonging to the Tucker outfit, who informed them that the immigrants were a short distance back. On February 27, Reed started out to meet them, packing a lot of biscuits he had made the night before. He met the Tucker party about four miles from "Bear Valley," among whom were his wife and two little children.

With the assurance that there was plenty of food in the camp ahead of them, Reed and party hastened on their way, camping that night on the Yuba River, where there was fifteen feet of snow.

From the foregoing narrative, it is found that it was James F. Reed and party who relieved Captain Reasin P. Tucker's party with nineteen of the emigrants on Relief Hill on February 27, 1847, and that the story of the pioneers was true. A tablet should be erected on Relief Hill, recording the event, and one at Indian Springs honoring the Indians who gave succor to the "Forlorn Hope."

The winter of 1846-1847 deserves more than a passing notice, it was the most severe season which has been experienced since the present American occupation. The season began in October, about one month earlier than usual, and continued with marked severity through March, as noted by the Donner history. As related above, there were from two to five feet of snow on the summit on the 26th of October, eight feet at Donner Lake on December 16, and more than ten feet at North Bloomfield by the middle of February. The season was so cold that the precipitation fell as snow. The average precipitation on the mountains on the west side of the summit is about three times that at Truckee. The stumps of the trees cut by the party around Donner were twenty-two feet high, and this is the height of the pedestal of the Donner Monument, indicating the depth of snow there that winter. This is about twice the depth that has occurred since then. The only season comparable to it was that of 1889-90, when the Central Pacific contended against forty feet of snow near the summit, when breaking the blockade. At the same time there was twelve feet at North Bloomfield, and six feet at Nevada City. Hence the esti-

mate of thirty to sixty feet of snow during the middle of the season of 1846-47 was not without reason.

Such a precipitation should have produced a flood in the Valley. During February 1862, a business man of Sacramento, writing to a San Francisco paper on the lessons of that flood, stated that there were marks there showing that the Valley had had water five to seven feet deeper than that of the January 1862 flood. Considering that fifteen years had elapsed these flood marks undoubtedly were made in the season of 1846-1847.

W. W. WAGGONER.*

NOTE BY THE PUBLICATION COMMITTEE

The following references to the second edition of *What I Saw in California*, by Edwin Bryant, published in New York by D. Appleton & Company in 1848 (pp. 230 et seq.), are of interest in connection with the above article.

"August 26, 1846. "The trail leaves the shore of the lake [called by Bryant Truckee Lake, now known as Donner Lake] on the right hand side, ascending some rocky hills, and after crossing some difficult ravines and swampy ground densely timbered, we reached the base of the crest of the Sierra Nevada . . . But we knew that man and horse, oxen and wagon, women and children, had crossed this formidable and apparently impassable barrier. . . . What their energy had accomplished . . . we knew could be achieved by us. . . . After congratulating ourselves upon the safe achievement of our morning feat . . . we proceeded on our journey. A mile brought us to a small dimple on the top of the mountain, in the center of which is a miniature lake. . . . The emigrant wagon-trail was here entirely effaced. . . . Searching about, we ascertained by the fresh trail of our party, that they had left the lake on the right hand. . . . Descending a rocky ravine a few miles, we . . . entered a beautiful valley some four or five miles in length from east to west and about two miles in breadth. . . . This valley has been named by the emigrants "Uber Valley"; and the stream which runs through it, and is a tributary of the Rio de las Plumas, or Feather river, has the same name.

"August 27, 1846. [They had forded the "Uber"] . . . Passing from this ridge, in a southwest course we crossed a valley in which there is a small lake . . . back to the ridge again, along which we traveled over a very rocky and difficult road . . . 3 P.M. . . . we reached a narrow place so steep on both sides . . . that our mules could with difficulty stand upon it. The emigrant wagons of last year were let down this precipice, on the northern side with ropes. A descent of two miles brought us into a handsome, fertile valley, five or six miles in length. . . . This is called "Bear Valley."

"August 28, 1846. . . . About five o'clock P.M., by a descent so steep for a mile and a half, that ourselves and our animals slid rather than walked down it, we entered a small hollow or ravine, which we named "Steep Hollow." . . . August 29, 1846. We crossed, near the close of our day's march, one or two small valleys or bottoms timbered with evergreen oaks.

"August 30, 1846. . . . We commenced our march early, determined, if possible, to force our way out of the mountains and to reach Johnson's, the nearest settlement in the valley of the Sacramento. . . . We enquired the distance to the residence of Mr. Johnson . . . the house of Mr. Johnson, situated on Bear creek."

(The distances given for each day's march from Truckee or Donner lake to Johnson's ranch are: 25; 24; 20; 25; 17, or a total of 111 miles. This mileage though somewhat ample would seem to agree with the route laid out upon the accompanying map.)

The following is from the journal of Aquila Glover, quoted by George McKinstry in his letter to Lieutenant Kern in command at Sutter's Fort:

"On February 13, 1847, our party arrived at the Bear River Valley. 15th, left Bear River Valley, and traveled 15 miles and encamped on Yuba river. 16th, traveled three miles, and stopped to make snow shoes. 17th, traveled five miles and camped on Yuba river—snow fifteen feet deep, dry and soft. 18th, traveled eight miles, and encamped on the head of Yuba river. 19th, traveled nine miles, crossed the summit of the California mountains and reached part of the suffering company about sundown . . ." (*op. cit.* p. 255.)

*Mr. Waggoner, a civil engineer of Nevada City, and a member of the American Society of Civil Engineers, is well known for his extensive researches on precipitation, erosion, stream-flow and the courses of the prehistoric rivers which formed the high, gold-bearing gravel beds of the Yuba basin hydraulic mines. He is particularly familiar with the "San Juan Ridge" area between the South and Middle Forks of the Yuba on which Relief Hill and many of the other localities here mentioned are situated.

An article of agreement made and entered
into this day of September - 4. 1854 by and
between Edward M. Horn commander of the
Frisco on the ^{part of} the Government of the
U. States, and ~~John~~ ^{Adolph} Bruckner on the other
part - — With the full, that said Horn
on the part of the Gov. of the U. States and
said Bruckner himself, it is well said
Bruckner with a good horse to be used in
carrying the mail once a week, from Fort
~~Stockton~~ ^{San Diego} to Sonoma, and in addition to say said
Bruckner ten dollars for the transportation of
said mail for each ^{trip} ~~trip~~ means a week, and
forth

The said Bruckner in consideration
as above binds himself justly & truly
to carry the mail once a week to Sonoma ^{Sacramento}
and bring the return mail back to Fort ~~Stockton~~
and the day of leaving the last mentioned
post is to be on Tuesday unless altered by said
Horn, and the trip to be in and out within
delay as usual, and always in time to enable
said Horn to make up the mail for Tuesday unless
ordered otherwise in writing by said Horn, or by
the Mayor or some other superior officer — In witness
whereof the parties have hereunto set their hands and
affixed their seals the date before written — J. M. Horn Seal
Adolph Bruckner Seal

THE FIRST MAIL CONTRACT IN CALIFORNIA

When Frémont was called to Monterey by Commodore Sloat in mid-July, 1846, he left Sutter's Fort in charge of the artist of his exploring party, Edward M. Kern. Later, on the assumption of command of the United States naval forces in the Pacific by Commodore Robert Field Stockton, Captain John B. Montgomery of the United States sloop-of-war *Portsmouth* was given command of the northern district which included Yerba Buena, Sutter's Fort and all the settlements north of San Francisco Bay. Montgomery sent his First Lieutenant, J. S. Missroon, to Sutter's Fort to confer with Kern, the result being that subject to the approval of his (Missroon's) superior Kern was to continue in command.

At Sutter's Fort, or Fort New Helvetia, on August 8, 1846, Missroon wrote Kern a long letter for his guidance from which the following are extracts:

In selecting and enlisting a Military Body of thirty men into the Service of the United States, of which number twenty-seven are this day enlisted at this place, it is intended (by my instructions) to use it as a guard to protect this important post, which is at present under your command....

In order to facilitate communications and intelligence, you will make arrangements to forward mail by horse back to Sonoma, where a boat from the ship will be sent to meet your express on the day it is expected to arrive there. In order to run this express with economy, you will employ some suitable person of the Troop under your command, allowing him for his expenses, etc., the extra sum of Ten [written over Five in the original] Dollars for each trip using the Public horses....

I shall submit all that I have done to my Commander, since leaving here, for his approval and in the meantime, you will please carry out the orders I now hand you.

Under date of August 16, 1846, the orders given Kern previously were confirmed in an official communication headed "U.S.Ship Portsmouth, Yerba Buena."

The organization of the garrison under his command at Sutter's Fort occupied all of Lieutenant Kern's time, but the matter of carrying the mail was not forgotten. He found a man by the name of Adolph Bruheim, a young German twenty-five years old, who had been in the employ of Theodore Cordua at New Mecklenburg on the Feather River, the site of present Marysville. Bruheim had been in California some three years and was a steady-going individual. With Bruheim, Kern entered into the following contract:

An article of agreement made and entered into this day of September A.D. 1846 by and between Edward M. Kern commanding at (Sutter's) Sacramento Fort on the part of the Government of the U. States, and (James) Adolph Bruheim on the other part.

Witnesseth that said Kern on the part of the Govt of the U. States as aforesaid, binds himself to furnish said Bruheim with a good horse to be used in carrying the mail once a week from Fort (Sutter) Sacramento to Sonoma, and in addition to pay said Bruheim ten dollars for the transportation of said mail for each trip meaning back, and forth.

The said Bruheim in consideration as above binds himself faithfully & truly to carry the mail once a week to Sonoma and bring the return mail back to Fort (Sutter) Sacramento, and the day for leaving the last mentioned post is to be on Tuesday unless altered by said Kern, and the trip to be performed with as little delay as possible, and always in time to enable said Kern to make up the mail of a Tuesday unless ordered otherwise in writing by Capt Montgomery of the navy or some other superior officer.

In witness whereof the parties have hereunto set their hands and affixed their seals the date before written.

E. M. KERN (seal)
ADOLPH BRUHEIM (seal)

December, Tuesday: 11, 1881

5th spent the day in going down to
Mingo's Ranch to attend a sale of stock
went down in a boat - in the boat going
with Lady Kewitt got to Eliza Kewitt's
went on board at the plain ground with
overly bright the morning light
at 11:30 we there and had a short hunt
then we back had a beautiful hunt
coming up against the Concord
home after dark returned timely
stopped at Eliza's and then way home
surrounded by water and catfish
bunch of water took them to Eliza's
we spent a portion of the evening
there. The last day was almost
the last of 1891. I like winter
a year from now I expect to be in
and over from a forest and
will endeavor to be much more
and much more useful to myself
and the world than I have been

MEMORANDA.

during the last twelve months, - I have
been very successful in getting
new books and read in some fine
a way with England is not expected
I think that her architecture belongs
one of the most developed of the
kind which is now subsiding to day
being in and the only clear day
during the month. Going to the
our last of the communication
throughout the state and with the
Catholics. I do have for as matter
and still are suspended, the last
I am in receipt from the last time
in with the knowledge that it is believed
that England will discuss the value
of the order of the last and one of the
is never the less, I was with England
will certainly write to our books
I have just told in them, with the 20 or
30 thousand have been that

MEMORANDA.

we have amongst us, the English
missionaries in the North Atlantic
and numerous in the East and west
and isolated sea board makes us
feel that if this war breaks out we
volunteers will have hot work
if they come there! Our soldiers
will live their ^{own} thoughts of home
and a married life - "The husband"
will live three months from to day of
it - we may be returning home and
with this to day - Let come what
will the next three months will
and must be most important to me
they may be useful noble and
worthy of a man. If I leave to
the sailor who is given to come
shall read this history and there
that of the next twelve months
is strong

"CALIFORNIA'S BANTAM COCK"

THE JOURNALS OF CHARLES E. DE LONG, 1854-1863

Edited by Carl I. Wheat

(CONTINUED)

THE JOURNAL FOR JULY TO DECEMBER, 1861*

JULY 1861

Mon. 1, — . . . delegates kept coming in all day from up country, and I was busy electioneering, The Union County Convention in Session.¹¹⁸ In the evening drilled with the Rifles through the streets.

Wed. 3, — Left with the most of the Yuba Delegation and a host of up country delegates for the State Convention; . . . and went down to Sacramento. . . . the town was full of people, and all so busy talking about Governor that none seemed to think of Congressmen

Thu. 4, — In the morning held a meeting of our delegation resolved to vote as a unit at four O'clock, the Convention met Leander Quint of Tuolumne temporary chairman Committee on Credentials appointed and the Convention adjourned. . . .

Fri. 5, — Committee reported; James W. Coffroth as permanent Chairman report adopted Committees on order of business & platform appointed I was on the latter Committee we met in the Court Room a sub committee of five was chosen, of which I was one we met at the Orleans and drafted the platform

Sat. 6, — Met with platform Committee in the morning they adopted our report almost ver-batim and the Convention adopted the Committee's report without a dissenting voice. nominations for Governor were then declared to be in order & John Conness[,] Gov Downey, Eugene Casserly[,] Judge McKorkle, & Major Bidwell were put in nomination; balloting was had during the afternoon and evening until ten ballots were had and the Convention then adjourned until Monday

Sun. 7, — Around town all day busy electioneering considered my chances as being very slim indeed; McKibben seeming to be the generally put up candidate

Mon. 8, — Convention met and balloted several times then took a recess, in the afternoon John Conness was nominated for Governor. Richard Irwin was nominated for Lieutenant Governor & Henry Edgerton for Congress from the

* De Long's congressional hopes were shortlived, for on July 9 McKibben was nominated. The political situation was becoming more and more serious. Although not himself a candidate (his senatorial term not being completed), De Long did his part in the campaign, but his associates went down to complete defeat before the youthful Republican party. Military companies were enthusiastically formed, but De Long — with marriage in view and because of his political position — remained in Marysville. Here he bought a house of the Reverend Mr. Walsworth and prepared for the great event. His last entry, after the commencement of the great flood, is of particular historic interest.

South. the Convention then adjourned until to-morrow. I no longer desire to be nominated; Conness makes the ticket doubtful of success, & he & Edgerton attains with bulk headism; whilst the nomination of Irwin I consider disgusting and insulting to the community

Tue. 9,—Convention Convened. McKibben[,] Pitzer & myself were placed in nomination for Congress I made a speech declining the nomination; the balloting then commenced, some voted for me when the Convention commenced changing their votes to me until the chair had to forbid further changes & cut them off by announcing the vote; I received as it was 178. votes. pretty good. the Convention then completed the ticket and the State Central Committee was organized Gen Colton elected chairman and I Secretary. met at the Orleans done some business and adjourned.—I feel much prouder than though I was nominee¹¹⁹

Wed. 10,—Came up home on board of the Gem¹²⁰ played poker with Capt. Summers[,] Reardon & Hugh Thompson. beat the game the day infernally hot. in the evening called on Laura and found her all woe at my bad luck; assured her of her error and received her congratulations . . .

Mon. 15,—...in the evening turned out for the first time with the Sir Knights and had a cavalry drill on the plains back of town

Sat. 20,—...took Miss Laura to the Theatre to see Mrs Forbes play Julia. the whole thing was a perfect bore, she played very well but was unsupported.¹²¹

Mon. 22,—Went up to Oroville and took Mrs. Lassiter. Made a Motion in the District Court for a change of venue in the case of Burger vs Cole, upon affidavits of bias & prejudice upon the part of the Judge. motion was granted; returned to the North Honcut House and spent the afternoon; in the evening bade the ladies there good eve and returned with my sweet sister of Jericho home

Tue. 23,—Went down to Sacramento with nearly all the lawyers in town to attend the Supreme Court. took a room with Belcher at Mrs Kennedy's; ... the Breckenridge State Convention in session and the town full of Chivs.¹²²

Wed. 24,—Attended the Supreme Court cases of Ortman vs Deadman[,] Keller vs Hyde & Low et al vs Spring & Healy, all submitted upon briefs;¹²³ spent nearly all the afternoon in reading the Lost Bride.¹²⁴ at 8 O'clock left Sacramento in a carriage with Reardan[,] Filkins & Belcher & drove through up home. arrived safely about three in the morning

Fri. 26,—...in the evening played at faro a little again beat it again the town full of Delegates attending our County Convention which is to be held to-morrow

Sat. 27,—Was woke up in the morning by a man by the name of Boyd [Boyce] drew an affidavit for him to arrest one Morgan who was with his wife at the U S Hotel went around saw the arrest and a partial fight caught the parties *flagrante delicto*; plead Morgan's case in the morning & the husband shot at him and afterwards shot his wife & child in the St Nicholas. Our

County Convention came off nominated a very fair ticket but broke up in great disorder and ill-will¹²⁵ . . .

Tue. 30, — . . . Saw Boyce in jail and his wounded wife at the St Nicholas; called at McDonald's found them all much perplexed at my joke told Laura in the morning about my being married. they half believed it and did not exactly know how to act or what to say. . . .

AUGUST 1861

Thu. 1, — Busy at home all day drawing a Bridge Contract between Mrs Simpson and John Brown and others.¹²⁶ in the evening went with Laura to Lee McGowan's to a party had quite a pleasant time until the party commenced singing Dixie, when Laura and I left in disgust. . . .

Sat. 3, — . . . news reached here of McDowel's defeat at Bull run, the intensest feeling pervades community. Union Men are sorrowful sullen and ugly. Secessionists full of glee but noticing the ugly looks of the Union men they chuckle to themselves; in the evening knocked around town some bucked at the tiger a little for my last time in this town reced two letters from Elida

Sun. 4, — At home all day still feeling sullen and ugly. . . . in the evening called at Judge Singer's met Messrs Stanwood and Arnold there. . . . Wrote to Elida

Wed. 7, — . . . spent most of the day in reading the Children of the Abbey.¹²⁷ in the evening took a train around town with Dick Mesick . . .

Thu. 8, — . . . received several long calls[:] one from Marshall, formerly of Lee & Marshall's Circus with whom I had a pleasant reunion;¹²⁸ and one from W D Plum, who wanted me to run and as a member of the State Central Committee was a strong supporter of mine for Congress. The Breckenridge Co[unty] Convention in Session¹²⁹. . . reced a letter from Sister.¹³⁰— Memory carries me back to boyhood; this is the birthday of John Jaycox.¹³¹

Fri. 9, — . . . in the evening Conness & Edgerton spoke; I presided we had a rousing meeting and the two men made master efforts. I was then called upon and refused to speak[,] turning the meeting off with an anecdote.¹³² . . .

Sat. 10, — . . . D O Shattuck addressed a Breckenridge Meeting; they had the stand draped and covered with Star Spangled banners and the Band playing Hail Columbia. If this is not unholy desecration what would you call it? . . .

Mon. 12, — . . . in the evening took my last whirl in wildness around this town for some time went up and played at faro. win some thirty dollars. Came home wrote a long letter to her [Elida]. proposed that we get married on the 31st of next December at Los Angeles [sic].

Wed. 14, — Took the Boat and went down arrived at Sacramento went up and called for a few minutes upon Mrs Kennedy; went down to San Francisco on the Chrysopolis met with no adventure on the way; put up at the Metropolitan

Thu. 15, — . . . met with the Committee Old Dave Mahony pitched in for a nomination we adjourned until tomorrow in time to defeat him; . . .

Fri. 16, — Met with the Committe[e] and after a good deal of blowing by Mahony and a speech from Ryland we nominated Gatchell I then left got my baggage & started for the Warm Springs¹³³ Ryland went down with me on the boat, also Dave Bagley arrived at the Springs late at night Met Dr Warfield and the Miss McIntyres there . . .

Sat. 17, — Staid at the Springs during the day had delightful bathing and attendance; spent the day delightfully for a sick man; a great many ladies and a few gentlemen there Miss Joey Gougenheim[,]¹³⁴ Mr & Mrs McCauley, Mr Eddy & a host of others present. The Governor came there during the day; Major Harvey his brother in Law died in San Francisco¹³⁵

Sun. 18, — Staid at the Springs until in the afte[r]noon then went down to San Jose with Messrs Byrne & Hobson; found a dull town & no acquaintances rambled around the town visiting the Dutch Gardens &c until bed time¹³⁶ . . .

Mon. 19, — Took the Stage early in the morning for Alviso & the boat for San Francisco arrived all right; took the Antelope for Sacra[me]nto . . . had one of the greatest times coming up ever heard of. we passed around the infant until all got jolly Mrs Shattuck sang and we all got and kept boisterously merry until late . . .

Tue. 20, — Took the Governor Dana for Marysville and was all day coming up spent a most miserable day hot enough to kill. . . . A Mass Meeting was being held by the Secessionists[,] McConnell addressing them.¹³⁷ found letters from Elida, Sister & a host of other friends awaiting me, also an invitation from the State Agricultural Society to deliver their annual address on the 16th of next month.

Fri. 23, — Went up to Timbuctoo with Jim Lassiter; in the evening held a political meeting there and made my first political speech this Season, had a fine large crowd.

Sat. 24, — During the day went over to Sucker Flat with Harry Dougherty saw all the boys called on all the women and patted all the children. in the afternoon went down to Long Bar and met Goodwin[,] Mesick and Jewett there held a joint meeting and had a devilish rousing fine time I caught them badly I think Came home with Lassiter & Dougherty, also Charlie Thomas and Calvin McClosky. after we got home I went on a rousing spree

Sun. 25, — At home sick with a bad sick head ache all day. in the evening went up to Singer's and told him about the Governor's acceptance of his cavalry Co got him to work. wrote to French to join in with him¹³⁸

Mon. 26, — Started up to Hansonville with Dougherty, Lassiter and McClosky got up about dark was met and informed that the Secessionists would not allow me to speak went on in town opened a meeting, spoke without interruption had a fine little meeting Goodwin also spoke who was there with Jewett[,] Mesick and Sherwood met John Whealdon & Eddy there, went up home with them . . .

Tue. 27, — . . . took Miss Mary Jones out on a ride *had a very fine time indeed* lost & found my breast pin — then went up to Strawberry Valley with Dougherty, in the evening Mesick spoke[,] then Hatch & I and then Goodwin we lammed Hatch very much and I played at all the party, had a fine and an enthusiastic meeting. Staid all night at the Columbus House. had a devil of a time in the ev[en]ing with Sam Atchison[,] Ol Adkison and others telling stories &c.

28, — Went up to Eagleville in the morning then went down to New York Flat with Slingerland & took Mrs Eddy[,] Mary & the boy out riding, went over to Forbestown in the evening on foot & spoke; had fine music & a fine large enthusiastic meeting returned after the meeting and staid all night at Mr Eddy's.

Thu. 29, — Left in good season with the boys and went by Oregon Hill to Camptonville. in the evening a very large meeting assembled Messrs Mesick[,] Fitch[,] Judge Staples[,] Goodwin and I spoke, we had it hot and heavy. Staid at the Union Napier's¹³⁹ . . .

Fri. 30, — In the forenoon went to Young's Hill with Charlie Thomas & Harry saw all the boys & ladies including Mrs Slingerland.¹⁴⁰ Came back stopped awhile at Clay's Ranch went up & saw the girls¹⁴¹ & made the acquaintance of Mrs Henry Came by Foster's saw my French lady & thence up to Oregon Hill. Spoke there against Hatch to a fine large crowd. all passed off very finely. . . .

Sat. 31, — Started very early with Lassiter for town. . . . drove to Nicholas in the evening had a fine large meeting there a large number in attendance made one of my best efforts. was followed by McQuaid who thrust himself in. Met with the Odd Fellows and was so rusty I was ashamed

SEPTEMBER 1861

Sun. 1, — Came up home in the morning feeling very tired. found on my arrival Pacy had killed Cullen — a horrid affair. was sent for went into the Station House and saw Pacy, and was retained by him.¹⁴² in the evening went up and called at Singer's & had a fine time with Anna

Mon. 2, — . . . in the afternoon drove over to Colusa . . . Spoke in the Court House had a large crowd of ladies and gentlemen present made one of my best efforts and mad[e] some of the Secessionists both ladies & gentlemen get out . . .

Tue. 3, — In the forenoon went down to a Camp Meeting of the Methodist Church South with Lease met Miss [Laura] Cooper there and had a long chat with her. got to talking religion with her and got the old Minister down on me. Came away and back to Marysville without adventure in the evening Frank Ganahl, Hatch & John McQuaid spoke in front of the St Nicholas & Mesick[,] Goodwin and I spoke at the Western both parties had good meetings McQuaid made a fizzle and lost all his crowd and irretreviably lost his reputation.¹⁴³ After the meeting I got on a Spree with Gray. we lost all of our money &c.

Wed. 4, — All day busy at Election Everything went to the devil a perfect panic ran through the town the Republicans carried everything as indeed they did throughout the County and State¹⁴⁴ during the day I called on Miss Laura [Trego] and again also in the evening, and then out on the porch we had a fine dear time together until late.

Thu. 5, — . . . The election news came in the same as before the Secessionists are very bitter and drooping. . . .

Thu. 6, — At home all day working some at my agricultural effort. devoted the afternoon and evening to helping Capt Singer raise money & organize his Cavalry Company. Met with them at the Armory & they organized by electing Wm. Singer Captain[,] A H French 1st Lieutenant[,] E C Baldwin 2nd Do., Richards 1st Sargant & my friend Leming[?] of Colusa 2nd Do. thus organized the Yuba County Cavalry[,] the finest mat[e]rial for a Company I have seen in this State. What of honor[,] fame or dishonor & sorrow has fate in Store for them?¹⁴⁵ time will tell let him who when I am gone peruses this inquire & moralise.¹⁴⁶

Sat. 7, — The Yuba County Cavalry marched to the Bay this morning. I spent all the day in Court attending the examination of E H Pacy for the murder of G P Cullen on last Sunday morning, the examination was continued until Monday. In the evening called awhile at McDonald's & saw the folks Spent the evening in searching questions to a ladies parlor companion

Sun. 8, — . . . In the evening went up and saw Dr Lasvignes drill his Zouaves. . . . got on a rousing tight with Dobbins

Wed. 11, — . . . went out to the Cattle ground and saw the Stock. The races then commenced, and young Jimmy Glasscock was thrown and killed close by me. In the evening went to see Deacon Sheldon's show of the two girls, then went to see the Panorama, & then got Laura and went to the Pavillion. heard Governor Nye speak¹⁴⁷ . . .

Thu. 12, — . . . in the evening took Miss Annie Singer to the Agricultural Pavillion and heard Rev. T Starr King deliver the annual address of the Northern District Society.¹⁴⁸ . . .

Fri. 13, — At home all day at work upon my agricultural address. Completed it. In the evening took it up and read it to Annie who approved of it highly. Also read it to Belcher[,] Rowe and Murphy[,] who highly applauded it

Sat. 14, — . . . went out to the Cattle ground saw Gov. Downey. went out with Dr Lasvignes. Acted the part of auctioneer and sold a lot of Horses and Cattle at auction In the evening went to the Theatre with Miss Laura. Saw the play of the Dead Heart. Perry the leading character was very drunk.¹⁴⁹

Sun. 15, — Went over to Yuba City . . . and argued the case of Boggs et al vs Dr Gellar against J C McQuaid, who made one of his pettifogging speeches. Came back and was retained by Irish Mary to defend her, she having just stabbed and killed her husband Johnson . . .

Mon. 16, — In the morning attended the examination of Irish Mary before Mayor Fowler she was held in her own recognizance in the sum of Five

Thousand dollars. . . . A S Randall and I then took a buggy and started for Sacramento . . .

Tue. 17, — Staid at Mrs Kennedy's nearly all day, in preparing for my effort. Miss Fannie [Gifford] and Ella [Kennedy] spent much of the day with me in the evening went up to the Pavillion. Senator Banks delivered a little wishy washy address which he read.¹⁵⁰

Wed. 18, — . . . went out in the afternoon with Major Colt [Coult] (whose commission I had just secured) [,] Lieut Col Dobbins & Randall. saw the celebrated horses Jim Barton, Glencoe, Shot & Rainbow go in double harness . . . I bet & won some on third heat. In the evening I delivered my address. an immense concourse of people were present. — I got it off without any difficulty Gov's Nye[,] Downey & a host of other notables were on the stand with me¹⁵¹

Fri. 20, — Around Town seeing all the sights. went out to the track with Randall. Cali Damsel and Red Bird trotted. win six cravats off Mrs Galloway who was there looking very charming — I also met there Gov Nye & Miss Anna Atchison, Mrs Turner & Sister[,] Misses Fannie[,] Julia and Ella & a host of others. In the evening went to the Pavillion & Melodeon with Randall saw the woman of the world¹⁵² played & also saw the skillful rats.

Sun. 22, — [At Marysville] . . . called and saw Judge Singer who was up taking his last good bye. . . . after which lost some money at faro & went and saw Miss M[aria] King

Mon. 23, — . . . went over with Belcher and saw Mr Walsworth's House with a view of buying it.^{152a}

Tue. 24, — . . . Bought Mr Walsworth's house, for Six Thousand Dollars. borrowed Four Hundred Dollars of Mr. Belcher and made the first payment on it. also bought in the bargain his bed room furniture. had the Deed made out and placed in Mr. Belcher's hands. . . .

Wed. 25, — . . . In the evening went up to Judge Singer's wrote to the Governor to get him appointed Major in the Cavalry. Remained and had a long long chat with the girls a fire broke out and we feared for the house turned on the hose and wet it down. . . .

Fri. 27, — . . . leased the Feather River Bridge for one year from Fall[,] Hanson & Co at \$20 per day rent failed as yet to get the Free Bridge. . . .

Sun. 29, — Spent nearly all day in bed not having went to bed until after 8 Oclock in the morning having been up all night playing poker with Horace Beach & others In the evening went up with Major Coult & called on Mr Fall's after looking my House through. Met the Miss Atchisons and Mrs Kincaid there. Left there and I called and spent the evening at Judge Singer's. Made some promises of future moral reform —

Mon. 30, — . . . in the evening Major Coult made me a nice present of Foils[,] Masks & gloves. I also received of Robert Coddington a fee from San Quentin in the shape of a fancy Spanish hair bridle & one hundred bridle reins — . . .

OCTOBER 1861

Tue. 1, — Busy all day in the Court of Sessions, and in Justice's Court fighting Sunday Law cases. Obtained the discharge of John Boyce who was indicted for Assault with intent to commit Murder, upon his wife & child obtained his note for two hundred dollars payable on demand & forwarded it to Judge Sprague of Shasta for collection.¹⁵³ . . .

Wed. 2, — . . . tried the case of Thomas Mooney for selling liquor on Sunday. Jury retired and failing to agree the Court adjourned until tomorrow and left them out. . . .

Fri. 4, — . . . spent a portion of the day in empannelling a [new] jury in the Mooney case. The Sheriff out of Spite Empaneled a temperance jury for me to try my liquor case by. Court adjourned for want of jurors. In the evening took a short run with Mesick saw the Jewess Lizzie. Then called on Miss Laura and spent the evening until a very late hour with her and Mrs Mc[Donald] went out and bought her a fine volume of Lalla Rooka . . .

Sat. 5, — . . . Cleared Mooney on his Sunday law case;¹⁵⁴ Took possession of the Feather River Bridge and commenced taking tolls under our lease. John C. Fall[,] John H Tennant and Dr Watts failed a great excitement ensued over their failure. . . .

Mon. 7, — . . . Election for Chief Engineer of the Fire Department took place great excitement; — Dutch Bill elected Chief, Charlie Stokes 1st Assist & Fred Grass 2nd Assist Engineer great deal of speech making and I done some in the Union Saloon¹⁵⁵

Thu. 10, — Worked all day hard until the evening trying the Sunday law case of the People vs. Zabriskie and much to my satisfaction I won it.¹⁵⁶ . . .

Sat. 12, — . . . Reced of Cunningham my toll gatherer on the Feather River Bridge ninety dollars of tolls — . . .

Tue. 15, — . . . took Miss Laura to the Theatre saw McKean Buchanan play Charles De Moor in the Robbers¹⁵⁷ . . .

Wed. 16, — . . . received \$60.00 from my Bridge, across Feather River — In the afternoon received a note from Miss Annie requesting me to call on her. — In the evening I did so for a very short time had a long chat with her the same style as usual. . . .

Thu. 17, — . . . In the evening took Miss Annie Singer to the Theatre to see Wheatleigh play the Colleen Bawn¹⁵⁸ the play was beautiful Took Miss Annie home she was alone we remained together until late and parted[,] she going into a neighbor's to remain over night

Fri. 18, — . . . paid Rev Mr. Walsworth Thirteen hundred dollars in gold on account of my house — in the evening attended a meeting of the Chapter where we conferred the degrees of Mark & Past Master on Mr Knilberling had a *very fine time* . . .

Mon. 21, — . . . felt very unwell. took a dose of laud[a]num which like to have laid me out. Col Hatch set up with me for awhile

Sat. 26, — . . . Called on Laura[,] found Hicks there, went away by agree-

ment with her and waited for a signal from her that he had gone when I returned and we had a good time whilst the folks were gone to the Theatre

Mon. 28, — . . . took Miss Laura to the Theatre to see the great panorama, the Panthecnatheca¹⁵⁹; it was very fine in the prize drawing we were not very fortunate.

Wed. 30, — . . . went around & saw Misses Lizzie & Flora had some wine & an escapade of fun that was really romantic

NOVEMBER 1861

Sun. 3, — . . . the fall so far is unusually pleasant, so much so that it is feared that some kind of sickness contagious in its nature may arise¹⁶⁰ Went up to my ranch with an emigrant by the name of Thom. rented the ranch to him . . .

Wed. 6, — . . . Gave my note to Mr Walsworth for \$3463.00 with interest at the rate of one per cent per month¹⁶¹ —

Thu. 7, — . . . commenced the case of the Antoine Co vs the Ridge Co. the Court ruled against us in an important matter and we spent the day in the examination of one witness and in bickerings over his testimony . . . went and gambled some lost all the money I had by me and got in debt some returned home late feeling very bad

Fri. 8, — Spent the day in Court trying the case of the Antoine Co vs the Ridge Co. the Judge reversed his rulings of yesterday & gave us a show. . . .

Sat. 9, — Spent the Entire day in the examination of witnesses in the Antoine Mi[ni]ng case. . . . In the evening played poker all night with Spear[,] Talbot[,] McDonald[,] Dr Johnson &c came out a little ahead

Mon. 18, — . . . spent the day in the trial of the Antoine case. in the evening took dinner with Judge Bracy Dick Clough came down in a peck of trouble over the Kentuck affair. . . .

Thu. 21, — Spent the day in Court trying the same case; In the afternoon I got angry at Mr Pearl one of the Plaintiffs and quit the Suit and the Court Room In the evening he came down & apologized and it was made all right. — Went around and played some poker came out \$41.50 winner and got home early.

Sun. 24, — . . . met Dr Gray and went with him & Haworth and played at Faro came out \$150.00 loser. I now swear that this ends my gambling career for many a long day to come^{161a}

Thu. 28, — Thanksgiving day. Cold and Stormy by spells — worked in my office during the forenoon and in the afternoon went up to Singer's and took dinner with the girls — In the evening called at McDonald's and spent a pleasant and impassive hour or so on the porch with Laura —

Fri. 29, — I[n] Court all day trying the Antoine case. in the evening went around and played poker with McDonald win about \$85.00 from him

Sat. 30, — I[n] Court trying the same old case all day today — in the evening went around and played poker and came out some \$325.00 loser. . . .

DECEMBER 1861

Tue. 3, — Spent most of the forenoon arguing instructions in the afternoon opened the case and Filkins followed me when the case was adjourned until to-morrow; in the evening went up to Judge Singer's loaned the girls \$30.00 played some and lost about \$50.00

Wed. 4, — Mesick & Mitchel concluded the argument in the Antoine Case & the jury retired under pretty heavy instructions against us on the part of the Court . . . In the evening or towards evening the jury came in; an immense crowd collected when the verdict was announced in our favor with \$2500.00 damages — *hurra for us fame[,] fees and all are won* . . .

Fri. 6, — . . . went down to McDonald's a little while & then went & played some poker came out, about \$65.00 ahead Storming terrifically to day and to night this reminds me of 52

Sat. 7, — . . . Mrs T B Reardon was buried played cards until very late came out some \$220.00 winner

Sun. 8, — The day one continual storm the River up as high at dark to night as it was at its highest point last year — and still rising whilst now nearly midnight the rain still pours in torrents played cards in my office — came out over \$100.00 ahead Dr Mitchell owes me \$120.00 In the evening called on the Miss Singers and remained quite late — The flood is upon us and must I judge submerge Sacramento and ruin thousands of farmers and others in this State

Mon. 9, — Was awoke and sprang up to the alarm of the fire bell ran down & found that the Merchant's Hotel and several large brick buildings had fallen in and the inmates narrowly escaped destruction — the River raised about four inches higher than in 1852, and the whole town was nearly submerged. helped get the Singer girls out of their house & spent most of the afternoon carrying my bees out of the basement of the house. in the evening went with a party on the Steamer Defiance up the slough bet E & F Streets nearly out to Feather River and quite out to Judge Bliss's. great excitement horrid news coming in from the country of the loss of human life and property.¹⁶² Gave Laura a token garnet ring paid Mr Walsworth \$500.00 on my note

Tue. 10, — The water still high but subsiding Spent a portion of the forenoon in the Court of Sessions — in the afternoon called on the Miss Singers and so whiled away the day. In the evening played some poker and won about \$90.00. The reports from Sacramento stated that the water was 6 feet deep in the St George Hotel & many lives and much property lost

Thu. 12, — . . . in the evening went around and played some poker won about \$90.00. The weather very pleasant and the River rapidly falling — . . .

Fri. 13, — . . . took a walk up home with the Miss Singers; and invited Annie to go to the Theatre she seemed a little offish but finally accepted when I declined and went and took Miss Laura — Saw Mr Wheatleigh[,] Mrs Layton and Billy O Neale in several farces the entertainment was very good

Sat. 14, — ...attended the funeral of Corporal Hopkins — the Rifles turned out in full dress uniform and marched through the mud to the Cemetery. — On my way to the Armory J McQuinn attempted to take my life by putting a derringer to my back and snapping it — I was very nearly losing my life — I had given him no offense but was passing and as my back was turned he made the attempt but fortunately the cap snapped & the pistol did not go off¹⁶³ . . .

Mon. 16, — ...went over to the house with Teegarden and robbed some bee-hives [at De Long's house] — In the evening attended a meeting of the citizens at the Town Hall called together for the purpose of returning the fund sent to this place from San Francisco for the relief of the poor injured by the flood¹⁶⁴ . . .

Tue. 17, — Slept nearly all day — ... In the evening called on Mrs Cowell at the Western Met Judge McFarleen of Nevada [County] and was introduced to his wife a lady of very fine appearance took tea with McDonald's folks had a fine supper — buckwheat cakes and honey . . .

Wed. 18, — ...received a darling letter from Elida announcing it to be her last before coming up — Went to the Theatre in the evening McQuade and Laura were there — Saw Mrs Leighton in several pieces but was specially delighted with her in the fool of the family¹⁶⁵

Fri. 20, — ... Bought Miss Laura a fine new dress — Attended the Chapter Saw Sheriff Jones made a past Master; — *Swore off Smoking*

Sun. 22, — Raining as hard nearly as it can and has thus been doing since early last evening; it is now after midnight and it is still keeping up the tune-full lick and the weather warm — Spent nearly the whole day in arranging and marking my letters — perusing them made me feel really homesick — I have not felt that I was growing old and felt so strong a desire to go home in a long time. Went around and had a cup of coffe[e] and some mince pie with Laura and Mrs Mc

Tue. 24, — Raining spells during the day ... the water up to within four feet of the former flood but commenced receding before dark — the town all splash — ... went up in the afternoon and helped Annie & Ada bake cake and pies — In the evening attended the Warren's Ball and remained until about 12 O'clock — took no one the party was rather a slim affair but I had a pretty good time

Wed. 25, — Went around and made a few calls; made some presents &c had a good time generally. — The day bright and beautiful but the earth nearly covered with water — and the streets almost impassable — ... Went and played cards until pretty late won some \$40.00

Thu. 26, — ... about eleven O'clock the rain commenced and continued to pour in torrents and continued to do so unremittingly until about dark, when the wind raised to a perfect gale, and now nearly midnight the wind howls and the rain pours frightfully considering the whole valley is now a sea — Called a few moments at McDonal[d]'s, and then went with Jim Talbott to see if the river was raising . . .

Fri. 27, — ... In the evening attended the young folks calico party at the Watter Works Hall ... the river raised quite high; not much land in sight although the rain had ceased and it did not rain during the day

Sat. 28, — ... In the evening went up and called on Annie & Ada. had some champagne, Cake[,] Cider[,] Apples &c. and then fell asleep on the Sofa and slept until nearly eleven O'clock woke up and found that Ada had retired and Annie was sitting up beside me. The weather had been middling fair and strong hopes of a fair weather future inspired all. But just as I returned from Annie's it commenced raining and is now shelling it out again The Sacramento reported higher than ever before known¹⁶⁶

Sun. 29, — Started pretty good season in the morning and went up to the Peoria House with Miss Jo Philips it rained some of the way but we had a pretty pleasant ride. Found Mrs and Mr Philips[,] Cal & Dr Stone there. it rained during the afternoon and evening. we had a fine turkey dinner[,] good mince pies and a fine time generally set up until quite late; caught and bagged a rooster for a new-year's fight

Mon. 30, — Starte[d] just before noon and came home; the ground nearly falling out at the bottom, had a good time and quite pleasant until we got within a few miles of town when it commenced to storm and shortly after our arrival it rained for a short time as hard as I ever saw it rain in my life. it just tumbled out — Fought chickens with McDonald and win the fight In the evening went up to Hamilton's House to see Jo. heard the quartette club sing several songs ...

Tue. 31, — Spent the day in going down to Wing's Ranch to attend a sale of stock went down in a boat[,] Jim Talbott going with Andy Hewitt & I to Eliza thence we went on horseback. the plains covered with water. bought the mare & colt for \$50.00 got dinner there and had a short hunt Came back had a dreadful hard time rowing up against the current got home after dark fatigued terribly Stopped at a house on the way that was surrounded by water and caught a couple of roosters took them to McDonald's and spent a portion of the evening there.

The last day and almost the last hour of 1861. If I live until a year from now I expect to be in my own home a husband, and I will endeavor to be much more moral and much more useful to myself and the world than I have been during the last twelve months; — This has been a very eventful year; the great civil war broke out and is now fiercely raging a war with England is anticipated This State has recently been deluged by one of the most devastating floods ever known, which is now subsiding[,] today being almost the only clear day during this month. Owing to this flood our telegraphic communications throughout this State and with the Atlantic States have [been] for sometime and still are suspended; the last news we received from the East leaves us with the knowledge that it is believed that England will demand the release of Mason & Slidell and our feeling is *never do it*; A war with England will assuredly

invite to our shores her fiercest blows this with the 20 or 30 thousand home traitors that we have amongst us, the English possessions on the North[,] Indians and Mormons on the East and our unprotected sea board makes us feel that if this war breaks out we Californians will have hot work if this comes then I am a soldier farewell then my thoughts of home and a married life — The history I write twelve months from today if I live may be interesting when compared with this of today — Let come what will the next twelve months will and must be most important to me. May they be useful noble and worthy of a man. This I leave to the reader who in years to come shall read this history and then that of the next twelve months

DE LONG¹⁶⁷

NOTES TO THE JOURNAL OF CHARLES E. DE LONG FOR 1861

(Continued)

118. The Timbuctoo Union Club called for a Union Convention, and a large number of delegates met at Marysville on July 1. Among those present were Judge S. M. Bliss, J. W. Talbot, M. D. Dobbins, J. O. Goodwin, M. Fuller, T. J. Sherwood, Gid. Nightingill, George King, George Rowe, C. Covillaud and Eli Teegarden from Marysville; J. McAllis from Timbuctoo, Thomas Mooney from Sucker Flat, J. M. Crowell from Galena House, A. Pauley from Spring Valley, and J. K. Lofton from Round Tent (all of whom have been mentioned in this diary). Hearty approval of the Lincoln administration's course was voiced in Resolutions, which called for "Principle above Party." (*National Democrat*, July 2, 1861.)

119. The Union Democratic State Convention met in Sacramento on July 4, with around 650 delegates, the largest political convention which had as yet gathered in California. Joseph P. Hoge (see Note 91, 1861) was Chairman of the State Committee; James W. Coffroth (see Note 113, 1859) was made President, and strong Union resolutions were adopted. John Conness was nominated for Governor on the fourteenth ballot, and Richard Irwin (State Senator from Butte County, 1853 and 1854, and from Plumas County, 1857; died Feb. 15, 1869) was nominated for Lieutenant Governor on the first ballot, while our old friend John R. Ridge (see Note 173, 1858) was nominated for State Printer. De Long was made a member of the State Committee, representing Yuba County.

120. The *Gem* was a small steamer of 235 tons which plied on the Sacramento-Red Bluff run. (T. & W., *Sacramento County*, p. 64.) She was built in 1860 and took the place of the earlier steamer of the same name, from whose parts she was largely constructed. She was the first successful light draft steamer on the river and was built expressly for the Red Bluff trade. She never suffered any accidents, but in the flood of 1862 was carried through the north levee at Sacramento "and landed on somebody's ranch, back of Agricultural Park." (*Union*, Jan. 12, 1876.)

121. The *National Democrat* the next day declared that Mrs. Forbes's performance was "highly artistic, and more than that, it was full of passion and feeling. She is a tragic actress of great power." Mrs. W. C. Forbes was a distinguished actress, and had played successfully in London before coming to California. She was said to have "a tall majestic figure, a lady-like deportment, a harmonious voice, and a fine delivery." (*Alta*, Dec. 12, 1859.) She starred throughout California in the part of "Julia" in James Sheridan Knowles's popular drama, *The Hunchback*.

122. The "Dixie" Convention — as the *Union* put it — was largely composed of southerners, who were known as "Chivs," or Chivalry adherents during the late fifties when the Douglas supporters and those opposed to him were struggling for mastery of the Democratic party. From Yuba County, among others, the delegates included John S. Love, Charles Lindley, D. L. Haun, John A. McQuaid, N. E. Whiteside and B. P. Hugg.

123. *Keller vs. Hyde* is reported in 20 Cal. 594.

124. This was probably Timothy Shay Arthur's work, although there were several books with the title of "The Lost Bride." Arthur is best known for his *Ten Nights in a Barroom*.

125. Among other nominations at this convention was that of James S. Slingerland (see Note 101, 1856) for Sheriff, and "Colonel" S. C. Tompkins (see Note 69a, 1854) for Assemblyman (he had been Recorder and Mayor of Marysville). (*National Democrat*, July 30, 1861.)

126. See Note 175, 1859.

127. Mrs. Regina Maria (Dalton) Roche's novel, *Children of the Abbey*, first published in London, 1798, was a very popular book and went through many editions.

128. J. R. Marshall (b. Limerick, Ireland, 1822) came to the United States as a boy and early engaged in amateur minstrel shows. He arrived in California during the height of the gold rush and, in partnership with H. C. Lee, an experienced showman, "opened" at the American Theater in San Francisco. Marshall was a singer, musician and comedian, and Lee was also a clever actor. Shortly they determined upon a circus, starting with but eight performers, young Marshall being the clown. In 1856 they built the National Theater in Sacramento, and their "National Circus" made two tours of the mines each season, frequently giving "benefits" for local needs or charities. One of these was in aid of the new Oroville courthouse, which is still standing and in use. After several successful seasons, Marshall lost his fortune in stock speculations. In 1868 he joined J. A. Rowe in a disastrous circus venture in Australia. He later managed the Sacramento Theater, and in 1872 took a party of Japanese jugglers on an extended American tour, later becoming manager of Woodward's Gardens, in San Francisco. (See sketch in *Sacramento Bee*, Dec. 4, 1886.)

129. This "Dixie" Convention gave the barrooms a great rush of business, according to George C. Gorham, editor of the *National Democrat*. J. A. McQuaid was one of the leading delegates, and W. F. Hicks, E. Lalor and J. L. Lockwood, were nominated for the Assembly. Lockwood called for another victory (for the South) "like the victory achieved at Bull Run." *National Democrat*, Aug. 9, 1861.)

130. See Note 62, 1854.

131. John Jaycox has not been identified, but is believed by the De Long family to have been one of Charley's boyhood friends in the East.

132. The *National Democrat* (Aug. 10, 1861) reported that more than a thousand persons were present at this meeting. Conness flayed the secessionists and the Republicans alike; Edgerton "held the audience spellbound," and after three cheers for him and for the Union, three more were given for "Charley De Long," who was chairman of the meeting.

133. George H. Hare, in his *Guide to San José and Vicinity*, San José, 1872, states that Warm Springs, "twelve miles from San José, just across the northern line of the county, in Alameda County, was the first public watering place in California, and was for many years very popular. The water is strongly impregnated with sulphur, and is just warm enough for a luxuriant bath. The hotel buildings are quite extensive, but the property has lately passed into the hands of a gentleman who intends it for his private use, and it is therefore closed to the public." (See extensive article on this resort in the *Alta*, May 31, 1859.)

134. The Gougenheim sisters, Josephine (Joey) and Adelaide, first appeared in California in 1855. They went to Australia in 1856, but returned in 1858 and remained for some time. Joey was particularly popular. Leman (*Memories of an Old Actor*, p. 255) relates that on their return from Australia the Gougenheim sisters sued the captain of the vessel on which they had come for violation of contract, one of the specifications being that he had not, as agreed, furnished any sugar for their limes. The minstrels at once seized upon this incident, and popularized a doggerel song, "No Sugar on Your Limes," which enjoyed a great vogue, much to the discomfort (perhaps the pleasure) of the two actresses.

135. See Note 59, 1861.

136. By the "Dutch Gardens" De Long unquestionably refers to one of the three so-called "Public Gardens" of San José. Hare, in his *Guide to San José and Vicinity*, 1872, states that these parks were "patronized more particularly by Germans and other foreigners who look on Sunday as a day of recreation." They were "Live Oak Park," on the banks of Guadalupe Creek, "The San José Pleasure Garden," on the north side of Santa Clara Street, and "Central Park," on the east side of the city "beyond the Coyote." According to Hare they were "almost wholly dedicated to Sunday sports and revelry."

137. Colonel Hatch (see Notes 81, 1857, and 157, 1858) and John R. McConnell, nominee for Governor, addressed this meeting. The latter avowed himself to be a "Californian," and declared himself opposed both to secession and coercion. (*National Democrat*, August 21, 1861.)

138. See entry for September 6.

139. W. K. Napier, who had been one of De Long's delegates to the State Convention, was proprietor of the Union Hotel at Camptonville.

140. See Note 71, 1860.

141. See Notes 94, 1857, and 69, 1860.

142. Pacey (spelled "Pacy" in the diary) had been one of the nominees against De Long for delegate to the State Convention (see entry for June 15, 1861). The coroner's jury reported that G. P. Cullen "was shot with a pistol and stabbed with a knife held in the hands of E. H. Pacey," and died in five minutes. Some of the witnesses declared that Cullen had fired both the first and last shots.

143. The next day the *National Democrat* reported:

"The people were out last night to hear the speakers in behalf of the various tickets. Quite a respectable little crowd were in attendance at the St. Nicholas. It was addressed by F. L. Hatch, Esq., the very amiable Dixie candidate for District Attorney, in his usual smooth and oily style, by Frank Ganahl, the third candidate of the same party for Congress — and a very melodramatic gentleman — and by Jack A. McQuaid, the great exponent of Davis Unionism for the North American District. The simon-pure Secessionists applauded vociferously, and all who intended to vote the McConnell-secession ticket continued to remain of the same mind.

"... The grand rally was at the Western House corner. A tremendous crowd gathered at that point to hear the speakers. Hon. C. E. De Long spoke in behalf of the Union Democratic State and County ticket, and was vociferously applauded throughout. He made one of his happiest efforts."

144. The Republicans were victorious for all State offices in this 1861 election, Stanford receiving 56,036 votes to 30,944 for Conness and 32,751 for McConnell. (Davis, *Political Conventions*, p. 180.)

145. *The National Democrat* on September 8 declared that: "The exertions of Messrs. Singer, Baldwin, French and others interested in raising a cavalry company, having been entirely successful, and the requisite number of names enrolled, the company met and organized . . . at the armory of the Marysville Rifles, General M. D. Dobbins presiding." The following officers, among others, were elected: Captain, Wm. Singer; 1st Lieut., A. H. French, and 2nd Lieut., E. C. Baldwin. "The officers and men all make a fine appearance. We think they will compare favorably with any other company in this State, and if California has not good material for cavalry companies, no State in this Union has." This organization became "Company D" of the First Regiment of California Cavalry. Lieut. Albert H. French was later promoted to Captain of Company A of the same regiment. Marcus D. Dobbins was Lieutenant Colonel of the Fifth Regiment of California Infantry. (See Orton, Richard H., *Record of California Troops in the War of the Rebellion*, 1890, pp. 89, 117, 676.)

In a speech at Virginia City, Nevada, Sept. 15, 1866, De Long (in the midst of a review of his political career in California), said of the Marysville Rifles:

"I was a private in the company, and it was the first company in the State of California that tendered its services to the National Government. . . . It was some time before the Government accepted of the services of the Company. When our services were accepted, those of us who did not want to go, concluded that we must do so or furnish an able-bodied man as a substitute. I furnished a man who represented me, and I paid him one hundred dollars for so doing . . . If you ask me why I did not go, I will tell you: I did not want to be idle, and I had every reason to suppose that nothing but garrison duty would be required of the California regiments; and between the time of the tender of my services and their acceptance I had got married, and could not go. (Laughter and cheers.)"

De Long was married on April 10, 1862. No record of the obtaining of a substitute as here recounted has been discovered in the journal.

146. That De Long fully expected that his journal would be read by others in later years appears in many entries, this among others.

147. The Northern District Fair brought crowds to the town, including Governor Nye of Nevada Territory. The cattle grounds, in particular, were filled with exhibits from all parts of the State.

148. The heat was extreme, but a great crowd turned out to hear Starr King extoll the great agricultural promise of the Sacramento Valley. He admitted that he was not a farmer, but declared that, as "a literary man" he had "some general ideas upon the subject of agriculture." He thought that California fruit was as yet far from perfect. He had tasted California apples, "but the apple that enables us to understand the temptation of Eve has not yet been offered for sale here." (*National Democrat*, September 13, 1861.)

149. *The Dead Heart*, a three-act drama by Watts Phillips, was first produced at the new Adelphi Theater in London on Nov. 10, 1859. H. A. Perry (b. Philadelphia, 1826) was originally a stock-company actor, but later became a "star" and when he arrived in California in 1860 was heralded as "the great young American tragedian and comedian." He played Othello to Booth's Iago and Miss Baker's Desdemona, but was criticized for his voice and elocution. Later he toured the state with Miss Davenport, and still later he joined Maguire's company. On Feb. 11, 1861, he married the actress, Agnes Land. He was a member of Crescent No. 10 Fire Company, of San Francisco. He died in that city on Jan. 22, 1862, of consumption, and Starr King officiated at his large and impressive funeral. (*Alta*, Feb. 14, 1860; Jan. 23, 1862; Jan. 24, 1862.)

150. Banks' talk was brief, but flowery. He declared that while "on account of the

excitement of the times" the exhibition was not quite what it might have been, still "at no previous period of our history as a State, has Pomona so liberally bestowed her choicest gifts, nor Ceres dispensed her favors with so bounteous a hand." (*Union*, Sept. 18, 1861.)

151. De Long's "oration" at the State Fair was published in full in the *Union* for Sept. 19, 1861. It was a rather turgid affair, tuned to the taste of the times, which required much "high-powered language." He quite appropriately "approached the discharge of his task with the greatest hesitancy," but soon warmed up and remarked on "the beauty and gallantry" of the "joyous and intelligent throng" before him. This, he thought, was the moment of the Agricultural Society's "proud triumph." "I speak," he said, "as one of California's pioneers; as one who a few years since pitched his humble tent within the environs of what is now this proud city, which was then but a mere landing place upon the river's side, marked by a few tents and a mud fort. . . . California was peopled by a crowd of adventurers drawn here by their thirst for gain. To snatch a fortune hastily, and hastily to return to their homes and families, whom they had left behind, was the sole object of almost all. They suddenly swept upon this then almost uninhabited coast, like the wild rushing of an upturned sea upon a desert shore." But it soon became evident that California's real wealth lay in her agricultural possibilities. "Oh, California, our home! Proud mistress of the Pacific, sitting by the Golden Gate, through which shall yet pass the commerce of a world paying tribute at thy feet. How magnificent is thy present greatness—how glorious seems thy future. Within thy peaceful valleys Ceres waves her yellow hair and sows her bounteous gifts. Mammon holds court upon thy mountains, and is a courtier at your [sic] throne. The rosy-cheeked god, Bacchus, revels in thy vine-clad hills." De Long closed with praise of California's loyalty to "the starry flag of freedom."

152. This was probably Lady Clara Cavendish's (pseud.) two-act drama, *The Woman of the World*, first performed at the Queen's Theater, London, on Nov. 13, 1858. There was another play (three-act) of the same name, by Joseph S. Coyne, published in 1850.

152a. Rev. E. B. Walsworth was pastor of the Marysville Presbyterian Church for 1853 to 1862. He was later connected with a school for girls in Oakland. The Yuba County records disclose that, by deed recorded May 25, 1863, he and his wife, Sarah P. Walsworth, conveyed to Charles De Long Lots 4 and 5, Block 5, Range H, City of Marysville. (Book 16 of Deeds, p. 466.) The house was on Lot 5, the southwest corner of 8th and G streets, and faced on G. Mr. Stanwood writes that after the De Longs left Marysville this house was successively occupied by both the Matt Woods family and the Ninian Whiteside family (Mrs. Woods and Mrs. Whiteside both being sisters of Elida Vineyard.)

153. See entry for July 27.

154. The *National Democrat* (Oct. 6, 1861) stated of this case of Thomas Mooney of the Empire Ranch (see Note 4, 1854) that "we presume that the case settles the question that a man has a right 'to keep a hotel' every day in the week."

155. P. William Winkley ("Dutch Bill") was made Chief of the Fire Department at the election of October 7, 1861. On July 11, 1873, a bold attempt was made to rob the Decker-Jewett Bank at First and High streets, Marysville. On being confronted with a revolver, Mr. John H. Jewett attempted to reach a loaded shotgun, but the robber grappled with him and during the melee Mr. Bingham, of the bank, fired a shot, when the robber retreated, but was shot en route and fell into the street. An accomplice, John A. Toney, rode off on the wounded man's horse, but was apprehended after an exciting search. The wounded man, identified as James Collins, alias "Big Frank" Whipple, died that evening, but not before he had confessed that P. W. Winkley was also engaged in the affair. He had been seen hastening from the vicinity of the bank about the time of the shooting. He had been City Marshal as well as Chief of the Fire Department, and was at this time proprietor of a saloon in Yuba City. (*Appeal*, July 12, 1873.) He was tried before Judge Bliss (see Note 132, 1858) and after a jury disagreement was again tried and convicted (Nov. 9, 1873), and was sentenced to four years in prison. Toney got two years. On his release from prison, Winkley obtained a state watchman's job on the San Francisco waterfront, which he is said to have filled most satisfactorily. (Stanwood; see also Delay, P. J., *History of Yuba and Sutter Counties*, 1924.)

156. Zabriskie (see Note 71, 1855) had been indicted for selling liquor at his hotel on Sunday. The case was important, as on its determination would depend a large number of other indictments. De Long was successful in obtaining an acquittal, although most of the local bar had advised their clients that the position which De Long had taken was in error. (*National Democrat*, October 11, 1861.)

157. McKean Buchanan, "the great tragedian," was reported to have appeared in *The Plebian Daughter, or the Father's Vengeance*," by Henry Morford. (*National Democrat*, Oct. 16, 1861.) *The Robbers* was a tragedy in five acts by Frederick Schiller. Buchanan made his first appearance in California in September, 1855, and his daughter Virginia in July, 1861. They played together frequently. (See Leman, *Memories of an Old Actor*, pp. 258-66.)

158. Charles Wheatleigh, "one of the first comedians of the age," appeared in Dion Bouicault's "Great Irish Drama," *Colleen Bawn, or the Brides of Garry Owen*," with Miss

Virginia Buchanan as Eily O'Connor. (*National Democrat*, Oct. 17, 1861.) The play was very popular, and in 1862 a burlesque extravaganza based on it and entitled, "Miss Eily O'Connor," was produced by Mrs. Leighton. Charles Wheatleigh, who took the part of Danny Mann in *Colleen Bawn*, was for many years one of the most popular actors in California.

159. Morrison's "great panorama" of American scenery entitled the "Pan-tec-na-thec-a" was greatly praised by the *National Democrat* (Oct. 27, 1861), the editor remarking that "to see one half of it is worth more than the price of admission." It also included a "Voyage across the Atlantic Ocean from New York to Liverpool with a storm at sea, and the scenery of the River Rhine and Eruption of Mount Vesuvius, as exhibited in London for 200 consecutive nights."

160. This was a strange vagary of nature, for barely a month passed after this entry before the great flood of 1861-62 was on its way. (See Note 162.)

161. The rate of interest which now prevailed was much below that of former years. (See Note 41, 1856.)

161a. This was akin to De Long's other "good resolutions." See entry for November 29.

162. On December 10, the *Union* reported Sacramento deprived of mail and with a poorly-working telegraphic connection with the outside world. This was the fourth flood since 1849, but since 1852 the levees had reasonably protected the city. Said the *Union*: "The prospect is gloomy in the extreme for those who have been driven from their houses." Sacramento was then a city of about 15,000 inhabitants. In Marysville, according to the *Appeal* of December 10, a number of buildings fell, including the Merchants' Hotel, and the whole of the country, up to Judge Bliss's was under water. Many narrow escapes were recorded, and the steamer *Defiance* is reported to have cruised about the country, taking off refugees from roofs and tree tops.

163. Unfortunately no file of the Marysville papers is available for this period, and no further details of this attack on De Long can therefore be discovered.

164. The *Union* (December 18) reported that a fund of \$1,400 had been raised in San Francisco for supposed sufferers in the Marysville flood. This was returned, with thanks, but around \$600 was raised locally for relief.

165. Mrs. William H. Leighton was for some time the reigning favorite and star in California. She played with Perry (see Note 149), Alicia Mandeville, Billy O'Neil, and many other well-known actors. Her husband was manager of the American, Metropolitan and Eureka theaters in San Francisco, but died on Nov. 20, 1863, of consumption, while she was returning from a tour to Victoria. (See *Alta*, May 16, 1862; Feb. 16 and 17, 1863; Nov. 21 and 22, 1863; Nov. 1, 1864.) *The Fool of the Family* was advertised as an "ever popular Farce." (See advertisements in *Bulletin*, Feb. 7, 1862, and *Alta*, April 11, 1862.)

166. The second flood arrived as a Christmas present, and Sacramento was again inundated. The levees at Rabel's Tannery were despaired of, and talk of moving the State Capital to a location less liable to overflow began in numerous quarters. (*Union*, December 30, 1861.)

167. The picture here painted of California at the close of 1861 is of great historic interest, and shows De Long to have been a man of wide observation. That the loyal Californians were in a precarious position is indisputable, and in Southern California the situation was even more pronounced, since probably a majority of the population favored the South. The Mason and Slidell case was then attracting much attention, but Lincoln shortly determined to set the emissaries free, according to the just demand of Great Britain under recognized principles of international law.

THE JOURNAL FOR THE YEAR 1862

JANUARY 1862

Wed. 1, — Spent the day at home and around town merrily engaged in cock fighting. in the evening called awhile on Judge Singer's family and then attended a champagne supper given by Barclay at his rooms had a great time.

Fri. 3, — Took the Gov Dana and came down to Sacramento. Senators Parks of Sutter and Kurtz of Nevada were aboard. Put up at the Orleans. . . . Went to the Golden Eagle and met Col Vineyard[,] his wife and my Elida.¹ Had a very pleasant meeting a joyous re-union remained awhile and then came down town and spent the evening canvassing for Turner for Seargant [sic] at Arms

Sat. 4, — Spent most of the day and evening with Elida and the folks . . .

Sun. 5, — . . . called a little caucus consisting of Senators Parks, Hill, Pacheco, Van Dyke, Burnell, Shurtleff, Harvey and myself and arranged a programme dividing the offices with the Republicans and endorsing Turner. this I submitted to Hathaway and Porter and we had hot old times throughout town Broughton and others weakened very rapidly. Commenced storming and *snowed* and rained all day hard

Mon. 6, — The Thirteenth Session of the Legislature convened Don Pablo De La Guerra in the Chair; new members were sworn in and we then adjourned although an effort was made to elect officers which I opposed.² Spent part of the day & evening with Elida. . . .

Tue. 7, — Senate convened, and we went into the Election of officers with things mightily unsettled — but all came out right Elected Turner Seargant at Arms handsom[e]ly — The outsiders and Secessionists very much disgusted³ — Spent the evening with Elida — Went down to Camp Union⁴ with More and Snyder . . .

Wed. 8, — . . . called on Mrs Kennedy and saw Mary — then went up and saw Elida — blowing and raining quite hard

Thu. 9, — . . . went into joint Convention to canvass the votes for Governor and Lieut Governor — I went down to Camp Union on a Steamboat and saw the troops under Coult and Dobbins come up & embark⁵ . . . Storming very

*The Republicans, under Leland Stanford, controlled California in 1862, but De Long was to be reckoned with as one of the strongest of the minority members of the Legislature. His description of the great flood in Sacramento is full of interest. The Legislature picked up, bag and baggage, on January 23 and moved to San Francisco, where, on April 10, Charley De Long and Elida Vineyard were married in the new Russ House, "in the centre," as he says, "of a countless throng of brave men and fair ladies." She was "given away" to the Senator from Yuba County by her father, Colonel Vineyard, the Senator from Los Angeles County. But times were bad, what with the flood and the war and the playing out of the placers; and Marysville was dead when De Long and his little wife returned, though he plunged resolutely back into the practice of the law. He was defeated for reelection to the Senate in September, and the Journal ends with the entry for December 11, at a time when dull times had brought despondency to De Long. But his eyes were set on Washoe — and for the remainder of his life Nevada was his home, and the scene of his career, except for the years he spent in Japan as Minister of the United States to the Imperial Japanese Government. (See Appendix for a brief account of De Long's later years.)

hard Took dinner with Hartly Cope & Sexton & spent the evening at my hotel — A pitiless stormy night — Sacramentans trembling in their fright

Fri. 10, — The flood pouring into the city in all directions and still rising whilst the storm is still slightly pouring down and looks as if it never would let up — Inaugurated Governor Stanford⁶ — Staid at the Golden Eagle with Elida and her mother — during the absence of the Col — it was indeed a gloomy night Everyone crowded into the upper stories and all around a wild waste of water⁷

Sat. 11, — Attended the Senate the day still cloudy and slightly stormy. the waters were again coming into the City. by night a mighty flood rolled over the whole place and Still rising each hour went up to the Golden Eagle. landed on the upper porch from a boat staid all night there Col Vineyard being absent — The night was indeed a gloomy one

Sun. 12, — A fearful looking City is Sacramento — submerged under a number of feet of muddy water spent nearly all the day in rowing around the City. remained in the Evening at the Orleans

Mon. 13, — Attended the Senate we did not do much but wait upon the Assembly which was engaged in discussing the Resolution to ajourn to San Francisco which being defeated the house ajourned we then passed a concurrent Resolution to ajourn to the 21st inst & ajourned . . .

Tue. 14, — Met and attended to business and then concurred in the Assembly Resolution and ajourned until the 21st Called on Elida and spent the Evening at the Orleans Hotel had a little children's dance and a good time generally with the girls —

Wed. 15, — Around town until late in the afternoon[,] then got on board the Antelope and went down to San Francisco; arrived there without any special adventure took out Julia and Ella Kennedy to their home [at South Park] after getting supper then went and put up at the Metropolitan Hotel

Thu. 16, — Went over to the States Prison Jim Slater went with us we had a stormy passage raining all day as hard as I ever saw it. Commenced work by visiting the various machine & work shops — and thus spent the day — Set up all night playing cards with the Warden, Mr. Penny[?]

Fri. 17, — Finished up our business as a Committee at the Prison and then through a most furious storm came down and took the Petaluma for San Francisco Came over the Bay in a frightful gale that made the boat roll fearfully — Arrived safe — called on Dr Warfield found out that he was attending to a Small pox patient so I left and run around town a little on my own hook —

Sat. 18, — Ran around town trying to get our Committe[e] together finally done so and took an omnibus and went out to the Industrial School.⁸ the bus got stuck and we all had to get out and foot it for several miles through the mud in a rain storm — Heard the Scholars recite[,] sing &c went through the building and came back most of the way on foot then visited the Deaf Dumb & Blind Asylum & the Mission Woolen Mills and came on into town wet through . . .

Mon. 20,— . . . took the Chrysopolis and came up [to Sacramento] — the boat was immensely crowded . . . found on our arrival that the City was again under water — had to take boats to get ashore

Tue. 21,— . . . The day was quite wet raining some and town flooded and water still rising. remained in Session until quite late. — In the evening; rowed around town spent the evening with Elida and had a very good time; went to bed at the Golden Eagle and then got up and went down to the Orleans and staid all night

Wed. 22,— Senate met a howling storm still raging all around the water rising rapidly the levees at Rabel's Tannery⁹ gone & a dreadful hour of gloom surrounding all things The Legislature passed the Resolution to ajourn to San Francisco. spent the afternoon in running about and acting as one of the Committee getting ready to go down — In the evening played poker with [Lt.] Gov. Chellis Controller Warren & Senator Hathaway beat them out of about \$60.00

Thu. 23,— The water very high and the people much excited. ran around or rather boated around town until noon when the two bodies and all their furniture took the Chrysopolis for San Francisco¹⁰ — The day clear and fine the first one we have had this winter — arrived safe took a run around town with a crowd made the acquaintance of a Baltimore Secesh Girl and for the first time saw a ceiling mirror play funny pranks

Fri. 24,— Legislature convened in the Merchants' Exchange building¹¹ we as a Committee visited Hayes' Park, The Assembly rooms, Tucker's Hall and various other places a majority was in favor of the Exchange I favored the Park.¹² . . . In the Evening went with Burnell, Warfield and Farley and called at Col Hoge's met Miss Mary & Fanny Miss Josephine being out of town

Sat. 25,— Met at the Call of the Senate and remained in Session some few hours — In the evening went up with Warfield and called upon Miss Parker went then and called and saw the Bearded Lady and the Swiss Warbler¹³ — from there went to my hotel and joined in a game of Blind Man's buff in the parlor with a crowd of ladies and gentlemen and had a good time

Sun. 26,— . . . went up with Harve Carpenter and saw Mary [Carpenter],¹⁴ Mrs Schultz and Mr. Fitch. took dinner with them. from thence in the evening came down to church with Mary & Harve & from there home. Senator or Major Gallagher was married.¹⁵

Mon. 27,— . . . In the evening went with Dr Warfield and called on the Misses O Keefe's, the fair haired songstresses, and had a pleasant time they sang some beautiful songs.¹⁶ The night was freezing cold[,] so much so that we ran nearly all the way back

Tue. 28,— Called in the morning on Col. Vineyard on Pine Street; Attended the Senate the day peircing cold ice on the streets in the Shade did not thaw all day notwithstanding the day was clear and the sun shone bright Spent the evening with the Col's folks. . .

Thu. 30,—...in the afternoon got on board of the Chrysopolis with Heacock, Gaskill, Burnell and Williamson and came up to Sacramento. raining during the afternoon in the evening commenced snowing

Fri. 31,—Arose and found the ground covered with snow, and the weather freezing cold came on up to Marysville and took an omnibus part of the way and a sleigh the other part and came into town. . . .

FEBRUARY 1862

Sat. 1,—Went out to the Reform School with the Committe[e] found it a beautiful building:¹⁷ had a high old time wallowing through the mud coming back. . . . Visited the Miss Singers in the evening and first heard of Elida's attachment to Lieut Foster.¹⁸ played poker with my old chums in the evening and had a good time . . .

Mon. 3,—...Started the idea with the business men of the town of putting up a Capital here and got them all hot on the subject

Tue. 4,—Made myself busy all day in the Capital matter—Called at Judge Singer's also on Laura—In the evening held a meeting of the citizens at the City Hall and made a speech on the question. A Committe[e] of eight was appointed . . . Went and played some cards and came out winner

Wed. 5,—Arose and found that I was too late for the boat. felt very mean over it. . . . played a little game of poker The amts now due me are as follows[:] Mr Spear \$175.00[,] Mr. Mulholland \$100.00[,] Dr. Mitchell \$80.00[,] Jim Talbott \$80.00[,] J McDonald \$275.00

Thu. 6,—Took passage on board of the Young America & came down to Sacramento thence on the Chrysopolis to San Francisco . . .

Fri. 7,—Attended the Senate in the forenoon. Then went up and called on Elida & the Col found him quite unwell. On my way back I met a couple of strange ladies who gave me a very strange invitation. In the afternoon called at the Miss Kennedy's and spent a very pleasant afternoon and evening. Miss Julia gave me a vest chain made from her hair and the girls refused to let me go to fulfill the engagement I made with the strange ladies. I remained until late but afterwards I did go and found my lady friends Marylanders who thought I was and I left them under that impression

Sat. 8,—...called on Elida and remained awhile then came home, and spent the evening with the boys at our boarding house which I had established at Mrs Harrise's [on] Sansome Street . . .

Mon. 10,—...We had a little fight on some resolutions sent by Senator Holden's constituents repudiating the charges of secession and treason made against him which the majority tyrannically refused to even allow to be read¹⁹— . . . Listened during the afternoon to arguments of Messrs Wilson, Pixley, McAllister & G[regory] Yale on the escheat bill

Tue. 11,—...had a pretty vigorous debate on the amendment to the Criminal practice Act²⁰— after the ajournment Mr Ferguson, P K Hunt, Gov Downey & myself took a drive out to Camp Alert²¹ and had a pretty good

time Went out and spent the evening with the [Kennedy] girls at South Park — They were electioneering against Johnson for Port Warden

Wed. 12, — ... had a warm debate on the Chinese Fishing Bill and the War Tax Bill²² ... In the evening went with Turner and called on Elida and then went and bucked a little [at faro] win \$20.00 a piece . . .

Thu. 13, — ... we ajourned in honor of the news of the defeat of Price; when we gave three hearty cheers; The Assembly yelled like demons. Called and spent a short time with Elida. In the evening went to the Theatre with Turner and saw the Octoroon played beautifully by Miss Edwin, Wheatleigh, Barry, & others.²³

Sat. 15, — ... saw Hamlet played by Dillon at the Metropolitan. It was played according to the original text — for the first time that ever I saw it²⁴

Sun. 16, — Went out riding with Elida. went to Camp Alert Saw a cavalry skirmish drill and was much entertained . . .

Mon. 17, — Attended the Senate in the evening with Warfield and called at Col Hoge's; Had a very fine time remained until late and enjoyed ourselves very much —

Tue. 18, — ... spent the evening at Maguires. Saw the Children of Cypress played²⁵ . . .

Thu. 20, — ... in the evening went to Peter Donahue's and Spent the Evening,²⁶ and had a fine time with Capt Schenck & others of the Saginaw.²⁷ . . .

Fri. 21, — ... went into the Assembly and made my argument in the case of Gordon vs McAllister, which took me some time. McAllister was defeated by a vote of 32 to 38.²⁸ — Spent the evening with Elida told her of the rumor about Lieut Foster — When I left her went with Slater and won \$50.00 at the tiger

Sat. 22, — Met and heard the Address of Washington read by McShafter — then went out on foot in the rain to see the millitary review — ... In the evening went to Gilbert's Melodeon and enjoyed myself very much. saw Miss Lotta sing the American boy in character which was indeed very fine²⁹

Sun. 23, — ... attended the Methodist Episcopal church being unable to get into Starr King's — In the afternoon went with Warfield to Col Hoge's and took dinner — Spent the evening there and had a very fine time . . .

Mon. 24, — In the morning called upon Elida with Mr. Thom's letter; made up all our former differences and renewed our former love — I felt extremely pleased and gratified over the letter I received from Mr Thom — left in the afternoon with Turner on the Bragdon for Stockton he to see his sweetheart Jenny Jones [?] and I to act as a special convoy

Tue. 25, — Arose and found myself in Stockton; and oh what a looking place all mud and a universal gloom like a fog seemed to pervade the city — Even the people looked muddy. Called with Turner and saw Miss Jenny and her mother found them very kind and our reception was very cordial indeed — We soon left. Turner concluded to remain all night and I got on board to

return — Had a lively time getting a drove of Wild Cattle on board. and they raised the devil so that we were all night getting down — had a fine time on the boat telling stories &c

Wed. 26, — Attended the Senate and worked pretty hard In the evening went to Col Hoge's with Warfield had a candy pull a good dance &c — made a frank confession to those interested of my matrimonial future — In the afternoon went to see Elida — played a little against the tiger & lost \$20.00 . . .

MARCH 1862

Sun. 2, — . . . In the evening went up with Turner to the Dashaway Hall to excuse myself from an engagement to speak there I was compelled to go in and speak. about 1200 men and women were present. who refused to accept my apology so I went at it. Came out without much discredit and was afterwards introduced to a host of pretty temperance girls. was invited to a dance there next Wednesday eve and left with Turner both of us much pleased³⁰

Mon. 3, — . . . took Miss Elida to the Theatre and saw Miss Parker and others in their operatic selections.³¹ was not very well pleased. The Miss Hoges and Miss Truett were there

Wed. 5, — . . . attended a Dashaway Ball with Turner Met some Misses Bulires [Bollene?] and took them in charge had a good time and a huge flirtation with them; left the Ball about 12, and went to a Restaurant and then waited upon the young ladies home.

Fri. 14, — Spent the entire day in the trial of the Contested Election case: I alone argued on the side of Quint and was opposed by Shafter, Gaskill, Crane, Rhodes, Harvey and Van Dyke. we beat them the vote being 19 to 17 — I came out of the contest in a manner highly gratifying to myself and my friends³² — Spent the evening with Elida, her Pa, Slater & Young

Sat. 15, — . . . took a long walk with Miss Estelle Boulire [Bollene?] we went to Rincon Hill then up on the Sand Hills above Clay St Spent the evening with Elida. . .

Mon. 17, — . . . went out to Hayes Park and spoke there with Capt Ryan, Warwick, Gov Nye, Stanford and Father Gallagher to an immense throng. between our speeches the Miss O'Keefes sang some beautiful Irish melodies.³³ — In the evening went to see Elida a few moments and then went out to the Park to a dance. — Waited upon Miss Kate O'Keefe to the ball and danced until late . . .

Sun. 23, — Arose early and went out to Hayes' Park with Senators Holden and Bogart and took breakfast with Mike Hayes. staid around the Pavillion all day saw experiments in electricity & many other amusing things³⁴ spent the evening with Elida

Wed. 26, — In the Evening went to Mr Labatt's with Merritt and Quint, and spent the evening there at a Jewish party.³⁵ had some monte and came out a little winner

Thu. 27, — ... went to the American Theatre with Elida & Turner and saw the Barrack Room & the Red Rover played by Mrs Leighton and others³⁶

APRIL 1862

Tue. 1, — ... had a lengthy contest with Shafter upon the Mountain Lake Water Bill;³⁷ . . .

Wed. 2, — ... a long fight over the Capital question.³⁸ . . . In the evening went up and saw Elida, and spent another pleasant evening as usual with her. Went down and played some and after losing a good deal played out and win \$50.00

Thu. 3, — Left the Senate early and went up and visited the Union Street School. Met Mr Myrick & Miss Champlain there was introduced to the other Mistresses and some of the scholars had a dance. hea[r]d a great deal of interesting recitations[,] singing[,] music &c. and left when school was out highly gratified. . . .

Fri. 4, — ... In the evening went with Warfield and called to meet the two sisters but failed — Then called upon Elida and spent the evening with her. Warfield called there I asked him to act as my bridegroom to which he assented And we agreed to request Miss Mary Hoge to act as bridesmaid

Sat. 5, — Concluded to change the time of marriage to the 10th and have a dance. called on Elida and effected the change . . .

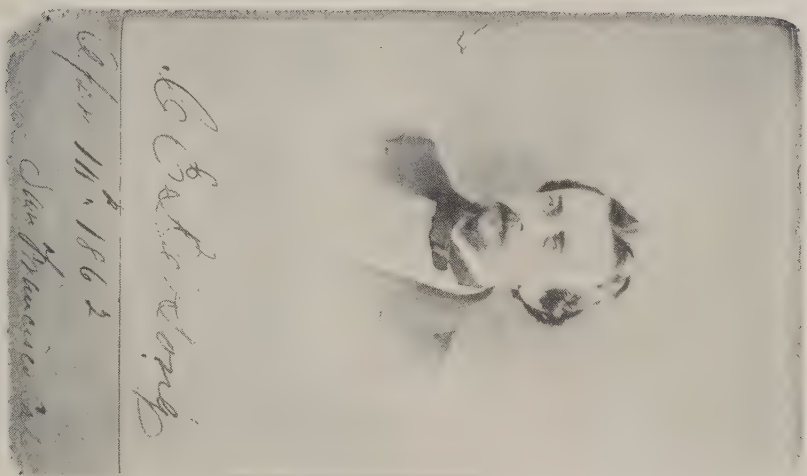
Sun. 6, — Was busy all day. during the forenoon went up to the Cathedral attended Mass and then saw Bishop Alemany³⁹ and, obtained his assent to tie the knot. Then went and saw the Hoge family. Came home and after dinner announced to the folks in the boarding house my approaching marriage. — In the evening went with Jackson to the Dashaway Hall and made a little speech and walked home with Miss Estelle Bollene and had a very fine time and sweet parting.

Mon. 7, — Out of the Senate a good deal of the time making little preliminary arrangements. In the evening went up and called on Elida with Jackson and Fanny Harris, met Mrs Ada Buchanan there and had a royal good time and afterwards waited upon her home

Tue. 8 — Spent the day part of the time in and part of the time out of the Senate. making matrimonial arrangements. the day wet and rainy. In the evening went up and saw Elida. had a long talk with Mrs Vinyard . . . remained until late with Elida and had a sweet sorrowful evening. —

Wed. 9, — Spent most of the day at the Senate. and the balance in running around town Making a thousand little preparations. Spent the evening with Elida. Senator Oulton & Warfield went & engaged Miss French for a bridesmaid; & Senators Lewis & Harvey with Mr Gould went for Misses Bigler and Hoff. The day was beautiful and fair. — I hope it may be so to-morrow. — Oh to-morrow most eventful day! in the cycle of coming years. what oh what will the events of to-morrow prove

Thu. 10, — Spent a little of the day in the Senate — the afternoon in



A WEDDING DAY PHOTOGRAPH



ELIDA VINEYARD DE LONG

(Probably taken in 1863)

From the photograph album of Dean B. Lyman, in the possession of his son, George D. Lyman.

preparing and in Company with Elida Miss Harris and Ada Buchanan — In the evening an immense assemblage collected. Messrs Harvey, Lewis, Pacheco, Parks, Jackson, Ch[r]isty, Warfield and Oulton acted as Groomsman with Misses Mary & Pauline Hoge, Miss Lessack, Fanny Harris, Miss Jenny Bigler, Miss Hoff, Miss French, Miss Parker and Miss McIntyre — We were married in the parlor of the Russ House, in the centre of a countless throng of brave men and fair ladies — by the Right Rev Bishop Allemanny. we then repaired first to our own room and then to the Dining Hall and received the congratulations of the hundreds present; and concluded by a splendid dance and singing by the Miss O'Keefes & Miss Estelle Bollene and thus continued until nearly morning when the bride retired under the care of Miss Harris and Mrs Buchanan⁴⁰

Fri. 11, — Arose about 11 O clock came down and breakfasted at Mrs Harrise's. attended the Senate and was universally congratulated; Enjoyed myself very much indeed. In the evening dined with my wife, Miss Harris and Dr Warfield . . .

Sat. 12, — . . . In the evening went to the Theatre with Jackson, Fanny Harris & *my wife* Saw Mrs Leighton in Asmodius⁴¹ after which act the telegraph news was read from the stage announcing the bloody battle and glorious victory of Pittsburgh landing in Tennessee; the death of the rebel general A S Johnson and loss of an arm by Beauregard which was received with loud and prolonged cheering[,] the orchestra playing national airs — Miss Bigler, her mother and a party of friends lunched with us.

Sun. 13, — Spent the entire day at home in the company of my wife. Bart Henly and his mother and some other friends called during the day, and in the evening Senator Harvey & Sister. Dr Warfield, Mr & Mrs Kenzie, Mr Brocklebank and others called. . . .

Mon. 14, — . . . attended a party at the Mission with Elida, Jackson, Fanny Harris, Parks, Harvey, Oulton, Gould, Warfield, McLellan & others — had a fine time met a number of interesting young ladies there Miss Bigler, Lizzie Huff, Miss Turner and others — got left by the cars and there being no carriages there Fanny, Jackson, Elida and myself came home on foot following the Rail Road. arrived safe though tired . . .

Wed. 16, — . . . Mrs Stanford and Sister,⁴² the Miss Maguires and a number of others Spent a portion of the day with us. . . .

Fri. 18, — Took a morning ride with my wife, Mr McLellan & Miss Baldwin out to Camp Alert Saw a dress parade stopped at the race track and the Willows. had a fine time at the Willows shooting &c. Elida shot remarkable well with both revolver & Rifle: came home & attended the Senate. In the evening and afternoon had an immense large number of calls. — In the evening I went over and delivered a brief address before the Lady Dashaways — and afterward went over with Elida, Fanny Harris, Jackson, Mrs Henly, Mr & Mrs Gallagher and had a fine little dance — after which we took supper at Ambrose's⁴³ and returned home

Sat. 19, — ... In the afternoon got on board of the Chrysopolis with Elida and her Mother and came up [to Sacramento].

Sun. 20, — Took the Swallow and was all day coming up [to Marysville] had a dull hot time of it played cards and lost. — Arrived without adventure and put up at the St Nicholas Met by a large number of my friends and had a fine time. . . .

Mon. 21, — ... Took Elida and her Mother over to see our house. they liked it very much, although we found it very dirty, and out of repair In the evening Col Sample dined with us. . . .

Tue. 22, — Attended Court argued some motions and attended to some other kinds of business The town appeared terrifically dull.⁴⁴ . . .

Thu. 24, — ... Mr & Mrs Lowry, Miss Henry, Mrs Laird & *Miss Laura* called on Elida and myself. had a fine little time *took my promised kiss at parting*. My last farewell kiss of one as pure as lovely and as kind as heaven ever made; one that I have no hesitancy in saying I loved dearly and now respect most highly as I ever shall; this my wife knows and I do her no wrong in thought or action in thinking or writing it; for it is past and no recollection of shame casts a blemish on the picture⁴⁵

Fri. 25, — ... went over to the house and took Elida arranged to have it all fixed up — Spent the balance of the day and evening with my wife and our friends numbers of whom called — In the evening attended a meeting of the Warrens and presided. — transacted some business when they surprised me with some Resolutions congratulatory and complimentary relative to my marriage — ...

Sat. 26, — Was up nearly all night being called up to two different fires. Acted for the first time in active duty as foreman of the Warrens — Parted for the first time this morning with my dear little wife, and the tears welled to her eyes at the parting I little thought I ever should feel so sad for such a seemingly trifling circumstance — I know that although she does not doubt my love, yet she does doubt my faithfulness this she cannot help but do from my past life but for the future I will be much different — let the curious who has examined my past record as entered by myself also examine the future and judge. — Came safely down [to San Francisco] attended upon Mrs Drake of Strawberry Valley arrived without adventure and stopped at Mrs Harrise's all were very glad to meet me

Mon. 28, — ... the Senate ... today commenced its sittings as a high court of Impeachment in the case of James H Hardy District Judge of the Sixteenth Judicial District.⁴⁶ . . .

Wrote to my wife, Mat Woods and others. Spent the evening at home, feeling lonesome indeed without my wife. My wife! how strange that term sounds to me as I repeat it in my mind. —

Wed. 30, — ... In the evening went to the office of Hoge and Wilson and staid until nearly midnight preparing my brief in the Sherbourne case⁴⁷ . . .

MAY 1862

Thu. 1, — ... went around to the Metropolitan Theatre with Turner and saw the Seven Sons performed, it being interposed with scenic representations of a patriotic nature that was very fine⁴⁸ — Went from there to a gambling house & lost \$125.00 this I much regret not so much the loss of the money as my of[f] step from the path of morality that I had determined upon to date from the day of my marriage — Tis however but another proof of the maxim, "That evil associations corrupt good manners"

Fri. 2, — ... we went into the trial [of Judge Hardy], and after a little while the managers & Pixley the attorney general got into a disagreement and Messrs Highby [?] Campbell and Edgerton Atty's for the State withdrew, we then ajourned to give the Managers time to arrange matters . . .

Sat. 3, — Went down to the wharf to see Dr Warfield and Col Forman's Regiment leave for Coso.⁴⁹ went aboard and saw Capt Bogart[,] Senator & Captain of the Senator . . .

Mon. 5, — ... In the evening attended the Varieties⁵⁰ for a short time with Jackson ... The Firemen of the City held their Anniversary parade and made an elegant appearance all the companies but one being out⁵¹

Wed. 7, — ... In the evening went with Jackson to Burnse's & then to Whipple's⁵² came out ahead then went to the Jenny Lind Melodeon and saw one of the greatest performances that I have ever seen⁵³

Thu. 8, — Attended the Senate and Assembly both, in the one House on the trial and in the other on the Rail Road Bill⁵⁴ . . .

Fri. 9, — Attended the Senate and remained there until 4 O'clock when I met Stella [Bollene] by appointment and we rambled together all day went up on top of Telegraph Hill and sighed together. then went and got dinner & went to South Park thence back to Minna St[,] called upon a relative; and I escorted her by moonlight close to her home and left her. Went and played and win some and returned home

Sun. 11, — [Back in Marysville] ... Sacramento or a good portion of it still under water. Met Elida who had just returned from Park's Bar She was rejoiced to meet me and I was equally so to meet her. . . .

Wed. 14, — ... The Senate impeached Hardy⁵⁵

Wed. 21, — ... I had a long chat with Laura at the door and she told me that she was to be married a week from to day to Dr Jim Talbott I cannot exactly express how I felt.⁵⁶ Attended a meeting of the Warren Engine Co relative to receiving the Howards and we concluded so to do.

Thu. 29, — Moved over to our House In the evening took our first dinner together and spent our first night at home Quiet an eventful day to both myself and my sweet little wife who looks more charming and beautiful to me in our home than ever before . . .

Fri. 30, — Spent the day in my office. It was awfully dull nothing in the world doing and I in consequence got the blues like the devil but soon got over them . . .

JUNE 1862

Sun. 8, — Spent the entire day at home watering trees, flowers &c and in fixing up my flowers . . . Retired early and read whilst my little pet of a wife played to me on the Harp.

Thu. 12 — . . . about dinner had a serenade by the Theatre band and I and my wife acknowledged it. Spent the evening at work in my office discharged Le Roy and took Williard Clay over home with me⁵⁷ . . .

Tue. 17 — . . . I turned out with my company to receive the Howards. marched down to the River but was too unwell to remain & returned home and laid up under the tender care of my darling little wife

Wed. 18, — Marched around town most of the forenoon with the Warrens & their guests; but could not stand it all day the weather most fearfully hot. In the evening we had our big dinner at the U S & had got finely started when a devil of a fire broke out and broke up all our fun; Some rough language was used by some citizens about the fire & we had quite a hot time about it afterwards. Got home late at night after coming very nearly foundering in the slough⁵⁸

Thu. 26 — . . . went over to the Butes [sic] and attended a little suit before Justice Epperson . . . won the case & came back by the way of my Ranch stopped there & took a look at it found they had ten acres of tobacco growing finely & other crops looking well

Sat. 28, — . . . turned out with the rebel firemen & the Warren machine paraded a little & then tried the machine but the hose would not stand . . .

JULY 1862

Tue. 1, — . . . Took my wife in the evening to see the Hanlon Troupe[,] Back & others.⁵⁹ An immense Crowd was assembled, the seats on the gentlemen's side of the arena all fell. all the ladies nearly in Marysville were in attendance The performance was par excellent [sic] My little wife & myself had quite an adventure on our way home in crossing the floating bridge over the Slough

Wed. 2, — At home all day and business so dull that none at all was done; Met Mr Warwick of Sacramento⁶⁰ who was on his way to Allegany City⁶¹ to deliver an oration on the fourth. He went over and dined with us . . .

Fri. 4, — Spent most of the day in my office commencing a suit; then went home and staid there with my little wife really enjoying myself much better than I ever spent a fourth before. In the evening we went over to Judg Aud's and saw the fireworks the Rebel Firemen turned out in a torch-light procession and burlesqued the Steam Engine. Watered trees and flowers for a fourth of July celebration.

Thu. 10, — . . . found that Love's Bondsmen were holding a meeting to see who to retain & they finally retained Mitchell & Swezy at double what I offered to do the business for. Let us see if the future will justify their action. . . .

Mon. 21, — District Court opened had a brisk argument in the case of Covvillaud vs His Creditors with Swezy . . .

Fri. 25, — . . . had a political meeting in my office, and made our fall campaign arrangements

Sat. 26, — Met the Breckenridgers at Mitchell's office laid down my terms which were that their Convention to day should ajourn & ours would nominate a ticket with Mitchell & Aud on it. They agreed to it and done it. Commenced a divorce suit for May Ann King formerly May Ann Flinn. Also an attachment suit for Turner & Co against Lewis & Co. Held our primary meetings in the evening, and elected our delegates with a good deal of enthusiasm. Col Whitesides dined with us

Tue. 29, — Attended Court in the morning and listened to the trial of Keiger weather as hot as Tophet Senator Latham was here and he and I were together almost all day making some arrangements. Judge Hale of Placer dined with me

Wed. 30, — Attended the District Court listening to the Keiger trial. Senator Latham dined with me and we remained until late to-gether.

Thu. 31, — Attended Court some of the day listening to the trial of Keiger. The testimony in my opinion clearly proves him guilty. . . .

AUGUST 1862

Fri. 1, — The day extremely hot done no business of importance. Keiger alias Davis acquitted.

Sat. 2, — Our County Convention met & nominated a nominating Committee but few present Met at the Yuba County House.

Mon. 4, — The Dixie Convention in Session all day. The nominating Committee of our party nominated me for Senator[,] Whitesides for joint Senator, Aud for Judge and Pyatt, Hardisty and Napier for the Assembly, which ticket was nominated by the Breckenridge Convention subsequently Col Whitesides & Matt Woods went over and dined with me. — An eventful day which will strongly mark my future. And I deem it doubtful of good

Sun. 10, — . . . Andy Hewitt & Wife came over & spent the evening with us. He told me that I had 50 feet of a claim in the Highland Mary Ledge at Reese River.⁶²

Wed. 13, — My Birth day, day of memories and serious reflections. Worked during the day trying the Red Bluff case. In the evening W C Belcher came over and dined with me My wife dear kind & loving as she is spread us a fine dinner. . . .

Fri. 15, — . . . M S Latham passed through town I made arrangements to meet him in Oroville on Tuesday next

Sat. 16, — . . . went over to my ranch with Snyder & examined our tobacco crop. found it beautiful & Thom at work curing it. . . .

Tue. 19, — . . . In the evening Latham and I both spoke in Oroville.

Wed. 20, — Spent the forenoon in coming down from Oroville with Latham

& the afternoon attending to the Red Bluff suit in the evening Latham Spoke in front of the Western & I followed him. An immense Audience was present & much enthusiasm evinced especially when I scored Snyder "*Bully for Snyder*."⁶³

SEPTEMBER 1862

Thu. 2, — In town during the day busy Electioneering done all that I could without having even an idea of success. — In the evening the Repubs had a meeting in front of the St. Nicholas. Goodwin, Rowe & Swezy spoke they then called me & I went up to apologize when the President left the stand and they turned out the lights. I then left[,] went to the Western and spoke and came up & found Gohram [sic] speaking. I gave him the lie whilst he was on the stand & then replied to him amidst a hurricane of confusion. the excitement was terrible & promised to end in a bitter fight

Wed. 3, — Busied myself in the forenoon at and about the polls, but soon saw that it was not of the least use as all were going one way, and even hundreds who had promised to assist us were working and voting the other way. I then went over home and staid with Elida who was quite unwell.

Thu. 4, — Awoke to find myself cleaned out by hundreds in the County and the whole state gone Republican to thunder⁶⁴ . . .

Sun. 7, — At home until nearly noon in the afternoon went over to town and played poker—win about one hundred dollars. Came home and spent the evening My wife very sick. bad news coming from the seat of war and discouragements of a political defeat all tend to make me feel much depressed

Tue. 9, — Spent part of the day in my office and the balance around town the weather very hot and nothing doing in the shape of business felt blue meditated selling out & leaving for Washoe or some other country.⁶⁵ My little wife still unwell. Remained out until nearly morning playing cards

Wed. 10, — Spent the day in my office . . . business dull and news from the Atlantic States terrifick to the effect that Stonewall Jackson had pushed through Maryland into Pennsylvania . . .

OCTOBER 1862

Wed. 1, — Worked in my office during the forenoon in the afternoon went over with Belcher to settle some matters between her & Brown about the tolls—Succeeded in this and came back & went to Yuba City to engage a toll gatherer. Worked at home on my brief during the evening. Carrie came down and spent a few hours. Young George A Clay came down to live with me⁶⁶

Tue. 7, — Attended County Court but tried no cases was very busy doing office business. My hands are now full of business but money does not appear to come in very fast. . . .

Sun. 12, — Spent the forenoon at home and in the afternoon, Started in a buggy to Nevada [City] with Mitchell to attend to the cases of Kelly & Co. & the Union Co vs the Ridge Co arrived in Nevada late, nearly midnight, and put up at the National Exchange⁶⁷

Mon. 13, — Attended Court and spent the most of the day empanelling the jury in the Kelly case. In the evening Mitchell & I rode to Grass Valley and on our return joined Ballenger & Armstrong two of the jurors and with Mr. Palmer spent the evening making Rome howl

Tue. 14, — Went on with the trial and continued at it all day. Spent the evening with the boys in much the same manner . . .

Wed. 15, — Continued on with the trial of our case during the day, Messrs Mesick Niles & Searls were our opposing counsel. Spent the evening with the boys in much the same manner. . . .

Thu. 16. — Concluded the trial and I opened the argument for Pltff and was followed by Mesick after whose argument the Court adjourned until morning. At night Palmer[,] Judge Stidger⁶⁸ [,] Mitchell and myself took a passear Frank Dunn died⁶⁹

Fri. 17. — Searls for Dft. & Mitchell for Pltff. concluded their arguments of the case, & the jury retired and in a very short time returned into Court with a verdict in favor of Pltff for the ground in dispute and damages in the Sum of Fifteen Hundred Dollars. The Court then adjourned out of respect to the memory of Francis Dunn until to-morrow, at one Oclock—set up all night playing poker

Sat. 18, — In the morning walked up to the top of Sugar Loaf Mountain & back then attended with the other members of the Bar the funeral of Dunn In the afternoon settled the Union Case, Pltff's allowing Defendants to take judgment for the property in dispute and eight hundred dollars damages without costs In the evening called to see Mr and Mrs Davis & Mrs Simpson[,] Dunn & Grachett . . .

Sun. 19, — Left Nevada about noon and returned home with Mitchell . . . My little Wife met me at the gate and I was indeed glad to return to her arms and home; thus fully appreciating marital joys to which I recommend my friends

Tue. 21, — . . . Received a letter from home from Aunt Helen apprising me of the death of Walter and that my Brother James R De Long had Enlisted in the 150th N Y Regiment.⁷⁰ Wrote a reply and also wrote to Gen Halleck, McDougall, Nesmith, Sargent & Phelps to get him a Commission

Mon. 27, — Attended Court in the morning and argued some motions. Court then adjourned until next week. Spent the afternoon in my office and the evening at home. Worked pretty hard and amongst other things looked over my accounts for the last five months & discovered that my expenditures for that time had been about two thousand dollars rather steep that

NOVEMBER 1862

Mon. 3, — Attended Dist Court in the morning. At noon took Mrs Simpson's carriage and went with her up to Yuba Ranch (alias Brannan City that is to be)^{70a} to attend to a little trial for her against H H Miller In the evening returned home The Browns & Miller & party on their return were attacked by young Simpson and Jo McGee and three of them wounded.⁷¹ . . .

Sun. 9, — The weather beautiful bright and clear Went over in town

once or twice during the day but spent most of the day and all of the evening at home. My wife is looking over my shoulder as I write this and expresses the wish that I shall here say something about her. So I will. She is a little goose. She takes exceptions to this. I would correct it if I could but candor . . . will not permit me to call her a gander.

Mon. 10, — . . . Heard news of McLellan's removal and the substitution of Burnside, fear the consequences will be disastrous to our country. . . .

Tue. 11, — . . . collected the \$500.00 of Jarrett for Mr Vineyard & paid it to Mr Belcher on my note. Got the Supervisors to allow my ac[coun]t for \$200.00 out of the special fund for attorney's fees in the case of Keller vs Hyde. Bought my wife a fancy bed room sett [sic] of china. . . .

Tue. 18, — Attended Court in the morning. the balance of the day I was busy in my office. In the Evening went to the Theatre with my wife saw the play of Damon & Pythias by Mr Taylor & Co & afterwards Mrs Leighton in the after-piece.⁷² . . .

Fri. 28, — In the morning went up and saw Mansfield the medium. spent an hour with him and he pretended to communicate for me with Ma. & my Sisters. I believe, he is an *unmitigated humbug*.

DECEMBER 1862

Fri. 5, — . . . News reached here that the South had proposed to return to the Union upon certain conditions and that Northern Democrats were in correspondence with them.

Mon. 8, — . . . Went to Yuba City. walked over with I S Belcher. went down to where the N C R R Co were putting up cars and unloading iron.⁷³ . . . In the Evening attended the Masonic Council & was made a Royal and Select Master as was also Messrs Hartwell and Fonda. . . .

Thu. 11, — . . . Recd a thousand Dollar fee from the Union Company. in settlement of their matter.⁷⁴

THE END

NOTES TO THE JOURNAL OF CHARLES E. DE LONG FOR 1862

1. Elida came up to Sacramento a day before Charlie, and her diary for the month of January, 1861, which has just been discovered among some old papers, is here reproduced in full. Poor girl, her Charlie had to spend a part of his time at politics! It is of interest to compare his entries with those of Elida for these January days.

Wed. 1, — In San Francisco — passed a very pleasant day — had a great many *calls* — the weather is delightful. We left San Francisco — at 4 o'clock for Sacramento — at *which* place I expect to meet "*my Charlie*"

Thu. 2, — We arrived in Sacramento this morning — found every thing looking extremely *dull* — I was quite disappointed in not finding Charlie *here* — but now I shall not expect *him* before *Saturday* — weather *good*

Fri. 3, — Have felt miserably all day — Charlie has come — he came up and stayed a few *moments* — Oh! Charlie is so indifferent — I do not believe — he loves me a "*bit*" — Well — well — I cannot help *it* — Would that I was *worth* more for his sake

Sat. 4, — Charlie came up to the room this morning — and remained a little *while* — Came again and passed the evening — Charlie is a perfect *riddle* — indeed I cannot understand *him* — I hope he loves *me* — God *knows* how much — how very much I love *him*

Sun. 5, — It has been raining all day — Charlie took dinner with *us* — and stayed a few hours after *dinner* — and then left to attend a "*meeting*" — too *bad* to have meetings on *Sunday* — It was so loneley when he is not *near*

Mon. 6. — It still rains — the Legislature convened this morning — Charlie called at 12 o'clock and went to dinner with us — Charlie is so strange — he has never said a word about our home I wonder why he don't?

Tue. 7. — I have had a lonesome day of it — Charlie has not been near me all day — I often wonder why I commenced to keep a Diary — for I have so little to write about — I only think of Charlie — and of course have to write about him

Wed. 8. — I must explain the above for one might think strange of the manner in which I speak of it *do not think* or consider him "nothing" no, far from it — to me he is every thing that is good kind and noble

Fri. 10. — Bells rang at 5 o'clock this morning — to warn us that the flood was coming — but it did not reach our portion of the city till it rose very fast — At 5 o'clock the water was 4 feet on K street Every thing looks dreary the sun never set over a more gloomy night

Sat. 11. — The water still continues very high — Many have left for San Fran to day Charlie stayed all night with us last night I was so glad to think he came back to stay with us — when I am near him I feel so safe

Sun. 12. — Day passed off as usual — water falling fast it has been a long weary day to me — We had preaching in the parlor this Eve — I almost feared to stay less Charlie would come and I would not see him, and so he did and left without seeing me "kindness enkindleth love but the waters of indifference quench it"

Mon. 13. — Oh, poor me — I am so sad and lonely — What a life of care this is — "one joy — a thousand sorrows" — one might think I had no cares — but they little know my heart — I cannot longer live in uncertainty — I must know all — an unpleasant truth is better than this suspense, oh, if I could only love him less — so to appear indifferent — poor me —

Tue. 14. — C was here this morning for a moment — but no word of love for me — he will come no more today — although he said he would — I wish — he could love me more — for I really fear he does not love me — as I would like to have him — oh, where would I not go to see him? & what would I not do to make him happy? — does he ever think of me or my happiness? if he did he would come to see me more for he must know how much I want to see him, Well Charlie — God knows how my heart yearns for that love — I once thought I possessed; he never tells his love — oh, that I could keep mine

Fri. 17. — Oh, how time drags it really seems as if Sunday would never come, oh, Charlie how I have missed you — have you thought of me, how often have I thought of you darling — and wished you here —

Sat. 18. — The water came in at 12 o'clock — I think it will be off K st by noon I wonder if my dear Charlie will be up to night — oh, that he may come is my prayer to night — if he loves me he will come, this shall be a test — no Charlie — oh, I will take back the test of love — for I donot want to think Charlie loves me not — No indeed — I do not want to think that — I am going to try and be brave in the thought that — he does love me — a little —

Sun. 26. — San Francisco. O! this lonely — long weary day — how end less it seems We came down last night — I really thought Charlie would come to see me to day — his excuse will be — "didn't know you had come" — oh — Charlie — Charlie — I fear you do not love me — if so O, my poor heart will break

Mon. 27. — Oh, dear Charlie, why don't you come? I am so sad O, do come — and speak to one that loves you — one that would sacrifice every thing on earth — to make you happy — there — there I must not cry — some one might know it — and then what would I say?

MEMORANDA [in back of book]

Love, born of sympathy seldom dies out — if crushed, it smoulders in the heart of its victim, till the weary burden of life is cast off —

Sacramento Jan 7 tuesday evening

Unjust decrees they make, and call them just
And we submit to them — because we must

Colonel Vineyard was the senator from Los Angeles County, and had brought Mrs. Vineyard and Elida to Sacramento with him for the legislative session.

2. Senator Denver introduced a resolution that the election proceed, but De Long's motion to table the resolution prevailed. Senator Crane then introduced a resolution to elect a *Pro tem.*, but again De Long's motion to table prevailed. On the following day, however, De Long himself offered a resolution to proceed with the election, which was adopted.

3. James McM. Shafter (Rep.) was elected President, *pro tem.*, of the Senate and Archibald G. Turner (Union Dem.) of Yuba County was made Sergeant-at-Arms. Shafter came from Vermont and was a leading politician and legislator. He received nine Union-Democratic votes, in addition to those of his own party, De Long voting for him. Colonel Vineyard voted for William G. Lewis, who received 10 votes to Shafter's 25. (*Union*, Jan. 8, 1862.)

4. Camp Union was located just below Suttersville on the Sacramento River. It was reached by boat from Sacramento (see entry for Jan. 9, 1862), and many companies were encamped there during the Civil War.

5. Theodore A. Coult had been elected Captain of the Marysville Rifles. (*National Democrat*, Aug. 21, 1861.) On January 9, 1862, Lieut. Col. Mark Dobbins and Major Coult accompanied Companies F (Captain Whittock, organized in Plumas County) and I (Captain Tuttle, organized in Benicia) of the Fifth California Regiment to San Francisco under orders from Colonel Bowie. The *Union* reported on the 10th that "the volunteers appeared to be in good spirits and manifested considerable enthusiasm on leaving."

6. In the midst of a great new flood, Governor Leland Stanford was inaugurated in the Assembly Chamber before a Joint Convention of the two Houses, and thereafter Lieutenant Governor Chellis was inducted as President of the Senate before that body. Stanford's message was in strong support of Lincoln's policies. (See Clark, *Leland Stanford*, 1931, for discussion of his election and his régime.)

7. Again the flood waters of the Sacramento and American Rivers poured into Sacramento. The *Union* reported the wires down in all directions and the city submerged. On the 14th, the

same paper discussed the proposal of De Long that the Sergeant at Arms be instructed to procure "one or more boats" to transport the senators "during the prevalence of this flood." Burnell opposed the resolution in the interests of "senatorial dignity," but De Long shouted, "Now plain talk is plain talk; you can't get out of this Capitol building, to go to the rear, or any office under it; you can't light a fire, without wading three or four feet in water to do it, and within the last hour the river has raised four inches, and is still coming up. Let her come! I think I am doing my duty and my whole duty, when I eat one meal a day — cold at that — in a garret, and shin down an awning post into a boat, to get to the Capitol. [Laughter.] My finances will not allow me to go any farther than I have done, and I can't get credit in this town. [Laughter.] . . . These facts are staring us in the face, the levees are down, the American river is flowing in without hindrance, the Sacramento is just beginning to pour down, and days must elapse before you can get to the Capitol without a boat."

After some further, rather lively discussion, the resolution to hire boats for the senators was adopted. (*Union*, Jan. 13, 1862.)

8. The San Francisco Industrial School, on the Ocean House Road, seven miles from the Plaza, was organized by an Act of the 1858 Legislature as a corrective and reform school for youthful offenders. It was supported by a monthly contribution of \$1,000 by the city and by contributions from private persons. In June, 1862, fifty children were inmates of this institution. (San Francisco Directory, 1862, pp. 31, 560.) At this time there was much propaganda going the rounds of the Legislature urging that "all the homeless and wicked children in California" be transferred to this school from the State Reform School at Marysville. (*Union*, Jan. 28, 1862; see Note 81, 1860.)

9. The levees near Rabel's Tannery broke in this final flood, and many families were rendered homeless. (See numerous articles in the *Union* and other papers.)

10. The people of Sacramento strongly resented the removal of the Legislature to San Francisco. On the 25th the *Union* remarked that "Governor Stanford left yesterday for San Francisco, and his furniture was seen headed in the same direction. This would indicate that he has also abandoned the Capitol and followed the Legislature in its discreditable retreat to the Bay City." The editor also spoke of "cowardly haste to leave a prostrate city."

11. The Merchants' Exchange Building was at 521 Clay Street at this time.

12. Although the proprietor of Hayes Park offered the use of his buildings free of charge, a majority of the Legislature voted to meet in the building formerly occupied by the U. S. Circuit and District Courts at the corner of Washington and Battery streets. (*Union*, Jan. 27, 1931.)

13. An advertisement for the Metropolitan Theater on February 22, 1862, states that "Mons. Ghio, the Swiss Warbler, will appear in his great imitations of birds, etc." The Bearded Lady's identity still remains undetermined. Respecting Miss Parker, see Note 31.

14. See Note 9, 1861.

15. Senator P. A. Gallagher, Douglas-Democrat from Calaveras County, was called "the Military Legislator" because he held the rank of Major in the Third Regiment of California Volunteers, having enlisted at Benicia on December 12, 1861. He was married at St. Mary's Cathedral by Rev. Father Croke on January 26, 1862, to Miss Frances Baker, also of Calaveras County. The Major was mustered out of service at Camp Douglas, Utah Territory, Nov. 2, 1864. (*Cal. Blue Book*, 1907; Orton, *Record of California Men in the War of the Rebellion*, p. 522; *Union*, Jan. 29, 1862; *Alta*, Jan. 28, 1862; *San Francisco Herald*, Jan. 27, 1862.)

16. Louise and Kate O'Keeffe were the "Irish Songstresses." In the 1861 San Francisco Directory Louisa Frances O'Keeffe is listed as "music teacher, 9 Post St.," and in the 1862 Directory both are listed as "vocalists" residing at 311 Stockton Street. They seem to have been much in demand at celebrations and other gatherings.

17. See Note 81, 1860.

18. No information appears to be available respecting the identity of this Lieutenant Foster. Presumably he was an officer of the regular army post at Fort Tejon, near which Elda had been for some time with her father, who was Assistant Indian Agent for California under General Edward F. Beale, and who at this time was also superintendent of Beale's princely domain — the Rancho El Tejon.

19. The *Alta* reported on February 11 that De Long presented the resolutions of certain citizens of Mendocino County condemning the proceedings of a meeting at which Senator Holden had been proclaimed "a secessionist and a traitor." De Long admitted that he did not know "whether or not they can have properly a place here" and Senator Perkins objected to their filing on the ground that they meant nothing and that if Holden were, in fact, a secessionist he knew that fact better than anyone else. Holden admitted non-approval of certain acts of Lincoln's administration, and claimed the right to hold his own opinions of the war, but declared that Perkins had no right to accuse him of favoring Jeff Davis. Senator

Banks, stating that "this is the most remarkable proceeding that I ever heard of" moved to lay the matter on the table, which motion prevailed 20 to 14. Looked at from the present point of vantage it can hardly be and that this was a "tyrannical" act, though it was probably swept through by the steam-roller method.

20. This was Senator Shafter's Senate Bill 21, to repeal Sec. 376 of the Criminal Practice Act.

21. The Federal Civil War encampment at San Francisco, Camp Alert, occupied the area between 24th and 25, Mission and Folsom streets. (Orton, *Record of California Men in the War of the Rebellion*, p. 885.)

22. The Chinese Bill here mentioned was entitled "An Act for the Protection of Fisheries," but it was really an attempt to throw as many obstacles as possible into the immigration of Chinese into California, and forbade them to fish except on the payment of a certain tax. The War Tax bill debate developed into an argument over the respective policy of collecting war expenses by taxes or by the issuance of bonds. De Long was in favor of the direct tax system. (*Alta*, Feb. 13, 1862.)

23. Dion Boucicault's four-act drama, *The Octoroon; or, Life in Louisiana*, was very popular at this period. Sophie Edwin made her first appearance on the California stage in 1856 at the age of twelve, as the son in *William Tell*, and the next year she played at the Jenny Lind Theater in San Francisco. She rose to the head of her profession, and also reared four daughters before her death in 1876 at the early age of 28. (See Leman, *op. cit.*, pp. 256-57.) William Barry, the well-known comedian, was a favorite for many years, and died in 1875 (*Alta*, Jan. 5, 1875; Leman, *op. cit.*, p. 256.) Charles Wheatleigh made his first California appearance in July, 1854. He played in popular companies throughout the state. In July, 1882, at his farewell benefit performance, a great audience greeted him. On the occasion mentioned by De Long he was billed as the star of the evening, at Maguire's Opera House, playing 'Salem Scudder' to Mr. Barry's 'Pete' and Sophie Edwin's 'Zoe.' Mr. Leman took the part of 'Sunnyvale,' and J. B. Booth that of 'Wah no tee,' while Jenny Mandeville played 'Dora.'

24. Charles Dillon, "the eminent tragedian," gathered about him a notable company, including the celebrated Mr. Judah, and his performance of the full text of *Hamlet* at the Metropolitan Theater received much acclaim in the press, the editor of the *Alta* declaring that "It is the first city to restore the text of this Shakespeare masterpiece, to the stage." (Feb. 15, 1862.)

25. The *Bulletin* on this date stated that "a grand spectacular and musical piece, in four acts, entitled 'The Children of Cyprus' will be produced tonight." It was arranged from the plays *Cherry and Fair*, *Star and The Ethiope*. Mrs. Leighton appeared as "Cherry" and Charles Wheatleigh as "Montapha," with Mr. Leman as "Remondell," Barry as "Topas" and Sophie Edwin as "Zoe."

26. Peter Donohue (b. Glasgow, Scotland, Jan. 11, 1822) came to California from Peru in 1845. He mined successfully at Mokelumne Hill and spent much time in an unsuccessful search for his brother James, known to be somewhere in the mines. Returning to San Francisco, Peter ran into his brother by accident in that city, and the two started a blacksmith shop, soon setting up their establishment in "Happy Valley" at the corner of First and Mission where the "Union Iron Block" later rose. A third brother, Michael, joined them, and together they engaged in the iron business. Michael being a miller, James a boiler-maker, and Peter a machanic and engineer. Here much mining machinery and the first California-fabricated printing press was manufactured. The U. S. S. *Sagwan* was also constructed by the brothers. (See Note 27.) In 1853 they built the first gas works in San Francisco, and shortly thereafter Peter organized the Omnibus Street Railroad Co. In 1862, with Charles Mayne and H. M. Newhall he won the San Francisco and San José Railroad to Gilroy, selling out in 1868 to the Central Pacific Associates. He also built the North Pacific Railroad from Donohue Landing on the Marin shore to Healdsburg (now part of the Northwestern Pacific system), selling it in 1873 to the California Pacific Co. He later repurchased it and added to it from time to time. He was also interested in the Ibernia and First National Banks. In 1853 he married Mary Jane Mayne (2nd children, J. Merwyn Donohue and Maria, Baroness von Schroeder), and in 1861 Anna Downey (see Note 26, 1861), by whom he had no children. He died at San Francisco, Nov. 26, 1885, at his residence on Bryant Street, where he had lived since 1861. (*San Francisco Call*, Nov. 27, 1885.)

27. Captain James F. Schenck had for thirty years been connected with the United States Navy. He had been given command of the U. S. S. *Sagwan*, which had been built in California some three years before this time, but which had been condemned in China waters because the "board wood" (probably bay wood in its construction had rotted and its sap had served to rot other wood in the vessel. (It is said that much of this laurel wood was grown when installed.) Captain Schenck left for New York on the U. S. *Golden Age* on February 21, 1862, but as the *Sagwan* was a splendid sailor and her machinery of the best, Commodore J. T. Watson was ordered to China to overhaul her and, if possible, return her to California.

This he did, arriving on July 2, 1862. The ship was then rebuilt at Peter Donohue's plant (see Note 26).

28. Alexander Gordon contended the right of C. McAllister to the seat from Marin County occupied by the latter. The Committee on Elections of the Assembly reported, and on Feb. 21, 1862, counsel for the parties was heard by the House, after which a resolution was passed, 39 to 31, giving the seat to Gordon. (Assembly J. 255-56.)

29. Charlotte ("Lotta") Crabtree became a California institution at an early age. She made her stage debut at the age of six at Petaluma as "Gertrude" in *The Loan of a Lover*, and a year later appeared in a variety show at Gilbert's Melodeon in San Francisco, where she sang, danced and picked her banjo to the delight of all. She then played one-night stands throughout the mines, romping, skipping, thrumming her banjo and dancing her way into the hearts of the miners, who often showered her with gold dust and nuggets in their enthusiasm. Her interpretation of the Marchioness in *The Old Curiosity Shop* was one of the most famous impersonations of her generation. Constance Rourke, in *Troupers of the Gold Coast* (a popular life of "Lotta") says, "She danced as Topsy, as a Wild Irish boy, as a Cockney with a Cockney song. She had a Scotch fling, and came out as an American sailor with a hornpipe" (p. 156). (See also Leman, *op. cit.* p. 337.) Many years ago "Lotta" gave the fountain which stands at the intersection of Kearny and Market streets to the city she loved so well. It is today one of the few reminders of the early period in San Francisco. Her last visit to California was in 1915 at the time of the Panama-Pacific Exposition. For many years she had resided in Boston, where she died Sept. 25, 1924. (Information gathered by Miss Caroline Wenzel.)

30. See Note 105, 1859.

31. Miss Lizzie Parker, whose residence during 1862 was at the "Government House," Washington and Sansome streets, San Francisco (Directory, 1862), was a well-known singer. In 1863 the Starr King Church, where she was a teacher, tendered her a benefit on the eve of her departure for the East, and a pitcher made of Washoe silver was given her. In 1865 she returned, having married a Mr. Northrop, and was thereafter a teacher of music. The *Alta*, Feb. 15, 1862, states that "Miss Lizzie Parker, recently arrived from Boston, will make her debut at Platt's Hall with a program of operatic music." On March 3 the advertisement stated that between the "Petite Comedy" of "The Day After the Wedding" and before "the Farce of the Lottery Ticket," Mrs. Parker, Mme. E. Schwegerle, Mr. Schraubstadter, Mr. S. W. Leach and Señor Roncovieri would render "selections and scenes from operas."

32. The contest of Joseph M. Cavis for the seat of Leander Quint as Senator for Mono and Tuolumne counties created much excitement. Senators Kimball, Harriman and Crane on March 10 presented a majority report of the Committee on Elections, holding Cavis entitled to the seat. On the 11th, Senators Irwin and Lewis presented a minority report supporting Quint. The matter was debated at length on the 14th, and the minority report was adopted 19 to 17. (J. 368-69.)

33. The grand celebration of St. Patrick's Day started early. The procession, led by a band, formed on Mason Street and marched to the Roman Catholic Cathedral where pontifical high mass was celebrated by Archbishop Alemany (see Note 39), the Misses Louise and Kate O'Keeffe (see Note 16) rendering the offertory duet. At the close of the service, a portion of the crowd proceeded to Hayes Park, while others marched to the American Theater, where Father Harrington delivered an "oration," after which the "military (Emmett Guard, MacMahon Guard, Montgomery Guard, Wolf Tone Guard, Fenian Brotherhood and French Guard) celebrated at the MacMahon and other armories. At two o'clock the Hayes Park Hall was crowded. Governors Stanford and Nye, Brigadier General Cobb and staff, Colonel Connor of the Third California Volunteers and members of the Legislature were on the platform. The band played, and Thomas Mooney, master of ceremonies, addressed the throng, introducing the "orator," Captain R. F. Ryan, who "riveted their closest attention," after which the band again played and Miss Louisa O'Keeffe sang "St. Patrick's Day." Major Gallagher then moved the adoption of resolutions praising the Irish people, which motion was seconded by De Long who "drew a vivid picture of the valiant services which the brave sons of Erin have uniformly given to the United States, and which they are now rendering to preserve and perpetuate the American Union." It was said that "Mr. De Long was often greeted with the most deafening applause, the audience giving away to the emotions stirred by the eloquent speaker, and cheer after cheer arose when he retired." Miss Kate O'Keeffe then sang "The Harp That Once Through Tara's Halls," after which many other resolutions were passed and the Misses O'Keeffe did themselves proud with a number of other cheering ballads. (*Alta*, March 18, 1862.)

34. See Note 114, 1861.

35. Henry J. Labatt, attorney with offices at 603 Commercial Street, lived at 815 Mission. He was the compiler of the well-known "Labatt's Digest of California Reports," published at San Francisco in two volumes in 1861, and of the "California Practice Act," which went through five editions (1856, 1858, 1860, 1861 and 1868).

36. Thomas Haynes Bayly's *The Barrack Room*, a "musical burletta in two acts," was first produced at the Royal Olympic Theater, London. Edward Ball's *The Red Rover, or the Mutiny of the Dolphin* was "a Grand, Spectacular Nautical Drama." The cast was a good one. (Advertisement in *Alta*, March 27, 1862.)

37. This bill was for the purpose of extending the time within which the Mountain Lake Water Company's works in San Francisco might be completed. De Long stated that "this company is the rival and the only dangerous rival of the Bensley Water Company" (out of which grew the Spring Valley Water Company). He charged that the real purpose of the opponents of the bill was to defeat the extension of the older company's franchise and thus secure a monopoly to the Bensley Company. At that time several water companies were attempting to serve San Francisco, and an outline of the situation was given by Senator Shafter. The bill was finally rejected by a vote of 19 to 14. (*Alta*, April 2, 1862.)

38. Charles E. Pickett's petition asking that the state capitol be removed from Sacramento to Suttersville, three miles south of Sacramento, read in part:

"Are their [the people's] representatives right in following the suicidal and foolish example of that town [Sacramento] by outlaying large sums of money for the erection of public buildings, not only in a marsh which is subject to the periodic overflow of two large rivers, but the whole site, composed as it is, of alluvion constantly endangered being swept away by the wearing, changing currents of these rivers, and from which no artificial elevation of the streets nor levees can secure it.

"From the mouth of the Sacramento River to Red Bluffs, a distance of 340 miles, there are but two approaches of continuous highland from the mountains to the river, one at Knight's Landing on the western side . . . The other is the bluff at Sutter (Suttersville). This remarkable point so clearly and beneficently formed by nature for the ground plans of a large emporium, is composed of cement or tertiary sandstone, and therefore safe against the wash and wear of the rivers, even should the currents of the Sacramento and American — as at no distant day they may — infringe directly upon it. Here then is the spot to erect the Capitol buildings around which the legitimate Sacramento soon must grow up. It is, in fact, the spot the people of the State have, through their representatives, already voted for, because here is where the original town of Sacramento was laid off, and where everybody, including the amphibious animals of the mud hole two miles above, declare at present, their whole populace should be. . . ."

39. Archbishop Joseph Sadoc Alemany (born at Vich, near Barcelona, Spain, in 1812) came to Nashville, Tenn., in 1847, and was made Bishop of Monterey in 1850. Three years later he was appointed to head the Archdiocese of San Francisco, remaining its Archbishop for over thirty years. In 1885 he voluntarily retired, and spent the remaining three years of his life in his old home in Spain, where he died (at Valencia) on April 8, 1888. He was a noted linguist, a member of the Dominican Order, and an indefatigable leader in all that concerned the welfare of his adopted country, and under his leadership the Sisters of Charity, of Mercy and of the Presentation located permanently in California. Upon the occasion of Archbishop Alemany's farewell to San Francisco a notable group of Catholic laity, headed by the celebrated lawyer, John T. Doyle, presented him with a purse of \$8,000, and the clergy of his church, to the number of seventy, gathered to do him honor. He had seen San Francisco grow from a gold-rush tent city to a great metropolis, and his efforts had won for him the affection and confidence of all classes of the population. Since Elida Vineyard was a staunch Catholic, it was, of course, necessary for De Long to obtain proper authority for the solemnization of their marriage under the rules of that church, and it was not unlike De Long to enlist the Archbishop himself to perform the ceremony.

40. De Long's wedding was given an important place in practically every newspaper in the northern part of the state. It was the first wedding in the new Russ House, and on Saturday it was reported that

"The most brilliant wedding that ever took place on the Pacific shores was that of Senator De Long of Yuba County, which took place on Thursday evening, to Miss Alida [sic] Vineyard of Los Angeles. The ceremonies were performed by Archbishop Alemany, at the Russ House Hotel, Montgomery Street — the bride being given away by her father. She is petite in person, a blonde, about 19 years of age, of winning and childlike manner, and decidedly pretty . . . Immediately after the marriage the happy couple, followed by the invited guests, repaired to the dining hall, where dancing was commenced and kept up until morning. All the rank and fashion of the state was congregated at that wedding. Nothing was defective in arrangements — nothing spared in munificent hospitality. May the afternoon of their lives be as happy as the dawn was brilliant."

The *Spirit of the Times* and *Firemen's Journal* gave De Long a "grand send-off" in its account, and the *Alta* reported on the 11th that "The spacious parlours and contiguous apartments [of the Russ House] were thronged with the friends of the parties. The Governors of

this State and Nevada Territory, most of the officers and members of the Legislature, and a number of military personages were present, of the invited guests."

The manuscript reminiscences of Mrs. Mary Tingley Lawrence, in the archives of the State Library, contain the following account of the wedding:

"Mr. De Long was a member of the State Senate. A piece of his wit was often quoted. In a spirited argument concerning a dam and a mill, he declared that there was 'no dam by a mill site and no mill by a damn sight.'

"Congenial 'Charley' had hosts of friends and to the wedding all must come. So from far and near he invited a tremendous throng to the happy event. The bride looked very lovely in her white gown *en traine* and with orange blossoms, and there were a number of pretty bridesmaids. All the Legislature and all the State dignitaries from Governor down, . . . were present in finest togs.

"There was music and a feast and champagne freely flowed. My father took me, and no doubt in some of its features, it was the grandest wedding, with its universality, that ever took place in California."

Two days after the wedding the *Alta* remarked:

"Innumerable were the witticisms, conundrums, and harmonious sayings indulged in by ordinarily grave Senators yesterday, at the expense of their newly married associate, who, to his credit as a faithful representative of the State's interests be it said, participated actively in the deliberations of the Senate throughout the day. He evidently believed in the verity of the old adage, 'Not for a day but for all time,' and very sensibly concluded that private and social enjoyment should always be subservient to the public good even at the beginning of the honeymoon. The Senator did not injure his political aspirations in the least, by attending so strictly to his legitimate duties as Senator, on the first day after his wedding."

41. Augustine Engene Scribe's *Asmodeus, or the Little Devil's Share*, was first produced in London in 1843 and in New Orleans in 1848. The advertisement called it a "Comic Drama." Mrs. Leighton played the part of Carlo. With it were produced the farce of *The Bonny Fish Wife* and "the roaring Yankee Farce" of *Podijah B. Peasley, His X Mark*. (*Alta*, April 12, 1862.)

42. Mrs. Jane Lathrop Stanford (b. Albany, N. Y., Aug. 25, 1828; d. Honolulu, Feb. 28, 1905) met Leland Stanford when he was a young man in Albany, and married him in 1850, he then being engaged in the practise of law at Fort Washington, Wisconsin. Two years later a fire destroyed his effects and he left Mrs. Stanford with her parents and went to California, where she joined him three years later. Mrs. Stanford's social career commenced in 1861 when her husband was elected Governor, and during the rest of her life she spent much time and energy in social affairs. Her husband became one of the "Big Four" of the Central Pacific Railroad, and one of the wealthiest men in the West, and she presided at the mansion which they erected on "Nob Hill," San Francisco, while their son, Leland Jr., who was born eighteen years after their marriage, was growing up. He died at the age of sixteen in Florence, Italy, and to his memory the parents erected the great University on the Stanford's princely estate at Palo Alto. Later Mrs. Stanford followed her husband to Washington, where he went as United States Senator, and she was known as one of the most gracious hostesses of that stately era. In October, 1891, the doors of the University were opened at Palo Alto, and two years later Mr. Stanford died. There was much litigation over his estate, and Mrs. Stanford made many sacrifices to enable the University project to proceed. She died while on a trip, but her body was returned to the Palo Alto estate, where she was interred by her husband's side in the beautiful mausoleum there. (See Jordan, David Starr, *The Days of a Man*; also Clark, George T., *Leland Stanford*.)

The sister here mentioned was Miss Anna Maria Lathrop, who lived with the Stanfords for some time and later married David Hewes, a well-known contractor of San Francisco. He it was who gave the "golden spike" for the celebration at the completion of the Pacific Railroad in 1869. (George T. Clark.)

43. The celebrated "Ambrose Restaurant" was located at 124 Montgomery Street, San Francisco, Samuel Ambrose being the proprietor.

44. The flood of 1861-62 brought dull times in its wake throughout the state. This disaster, together with the war and the exodus to "Washoe" left California in the doldrums. Law business seems to have been especially poor, and to a young man, just married, politically defeated, and still engaged in the formation of a practice, the prospect was not a rosy one. Washoe offered the best opportunity, and to Washoe went De Long soon after the close of the year.

45. See Note 47, 1860. Laura Trego appears to have been Charley's "secret sorrow," and her rather sudden marriage hard upon the heels of Charley's own wedding may well have been influenced by her evident sorrow at not having been his final choice. (See entry for May 21, 1862.)

46. On April 12, a committee of five Assemblymen presented at the bar of the Senate

the Articles of Impeachment against James H. Hardy, Judge of the Sixteenth Judicial District, accusing him of numerous acts of misfeasance and malfeasance in office. (J. 543 et seq.) On April 26, Supplemental Articles were presented (J. 625), and two days later (as disclosed by De Long) the trial commenced, the Senate sitting as a High Court of Impeachment. On May 14 the vote on Hardy's guilt was taken. He was acquitted on all Articles of Impeachment except Number 15, which charged him with aiding and abetting the Nation's enemies by publicly shouting "huzzas" for Jeff Davis, declaring that the flag "ought to be torn down"; saying that "the Constitution is gone to hell," that "I am a rebel and I don't care a damn who knows it," and calling for a toast to Jeff Davis' health and that of the Confederacy. Hardy was thereupon removed from his office and the High Court of Impeachment adjourned. (J. 719.)

47. Joseph P. Hoge and Samuel M. Wilson had offices at this time at 3, 4 and 5 Montgomery Block, on the east side of Montgomery, from Washington to Merchant Street.

De Long lost his appeal in *Sherburne vs. Yuba County* (21 Cal. 113), which was a case brought by him against the county on behalf of a former patient in the County Hospital who asked damages for injuries sustained from unskillful treatment by the resident physician, and from lack of sufficient and wholesome food. District Attorney Hatch's demurrer had been sustained in the lower court, and the Supreme Court upheld that ruling.

48. *The Seven Sons* was an extravaganza in which many of the characters of an earlier, equally-lacking-in-plot affair known as *The Seven Sisters*, were revived. What the piece lacked in story it made up in action, and humor, and the then celebrated song, "Glory, Glory, Hallelujah," was given a prominent place, new verses being written for the occasion by Walter M. Leman. (*Alta*, May 1, 1862. See also Leman, *op. cit.*, p. 285.)

49. Coso was located in the mountainous desert area southwest of Owens Lake and a few miles southwest of the mining town of Darwin. It is now known particularly for certain large mineral springs, but during the sixties the product of mines in the Coso District was considerable, even during the bitter Indian disturbances of the period. (See Chalfant, W. A., *The Story of Inyo*, 1922, pp. 94-151, respecting the Indian war in Inyo County, 1861-63.)

On May 3, 1862, the *Alta* reported that Companies F, G and H of Colonel Charles Forman's Fourth Regiment of California Volunteers had arrived from Sacramento en route to Los Angeles. Forman was a remarkable figure. He was born in Owego, New York, Jan. 14, 1835, and arrived in California in 1854, and in 1860 went to Washoe, where he took an active part in the Indian wars of the period. Later he went to Mexico, but settled permanently in Los Angeles in 1867, becoming Vice-President of the Los Angeles Cable Company (street railroad). In the early nineties he organized the Kern River Company which later merged with the Pacific Light and Power Company (now a part of the Southern California Edison Company's system). In 1912 Colonel Forman resigned as Secretary of that company and retired to his ranch at Lancaster. He was a charter member of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce and was President of that body in 1899. He died in Los Angeles, Jan. 9, 1919. (*Los Angeles Times*, Jan. 10, 1919.)

50. "The Varieties" was the new name for Maguire's Opera House, at this time under the management of Frank Hussey. Mme. Biscaccianti sang there during the spring of 1862, and many other well-known entertainers were also billed, including "Billy" O'Neil, Louise Paulin, W. H. Barker and Walter Bray. The advertisement declared that "the performance consists each evening of Opera, Minstrelsy, Ballet, Comedy, Tragedy, Farce, etc." (*Bulletin*, May 1, 1862.)

51. The next day the *Alta* reported that "a more lovely day could not be desired than that vouchsafed to the firemen of this city, on the occasion of their annual celebration yesterday. At an early hour the appearance of the town denoted a grand holiday. Flags were flung to the breeze from every engine house, and waved from staffs on most of the public buildings throughout the city." A procession of practically all the fire companies in the city marched through the downtown streets to the Metropolitan Theater, where Charles A. Sumner delivered "the oration of the day," at the conclusion of which a grand banquet was spread at certain of the truck companies' houses, and in the evening various balls were held by the various fire companies.

52. "Burns" was probably John H. Burns' and John Maguire's "Snug Liquor Saloon" at 614 Washington Street. Albert Whipple maintained at this time "private club rooms" at 630 Commercial Street. He later became a very successful wholesale grocer. (San Francisco Directory, 1862; *Alta*, Aug. 5, 1877.)

53. The Jenny Lind Melodeon was on the south side of Commercial Street, between Montgomery and Kearny streets. (San Francisco Directory, 1862, p. 423.)

54. The Railroad Bill here in question was that which would have allowed Yuba County to subscribe \$200,000 to the Sacramento and Yuba Railroad. It was passed by the Assembly on May 8.

55. See Note 46.

56. See Notes 47, 1860, and 45, 1862.

57. Mrs. Hogan recalls that on one of De Long's visits her young brother Willard went to Marysville with him. Willard died at San Francisco, January 18, 1864, at the age of eighteen. (See Note 66 re George Clay.)

58. The slough, which was located between De Long's house and the main business portion of the city of Marysville, ran from a locality in the northern part of the city which is now a park known as "Ellis Lake," in a southwesterly and southerly direction from the east side of Washington Square to a point on the old river channel near the confluence of the Feather and Yuba rivers. It ran just east of Napoleon Square and intersected F Street, at approximately the corner of 7th and F streets, one block from De Long's home at the corner of 8th and G streets. (Stanwood.)

59. William, George and Alfred Hanlon were trapeze and aerial artists. (See advertisement of Metropolitan Theater in *Union*, June 26, 1862, headed "Extraordinary Performance.")

60. J. H. Warwick, the well-known actor, was also a noted lecturer. He resided at this time at 118 Third Street, Sacramento, but in 1867 left for the East. Before leaving he gave a series of lectures entitled, "The Golden Land of the West," which he had prepared for use on the Atlantic seaboard. (*Alta*, Sept. 30, Oct. 1 and 19, 1867.)

61. Alleghany City was the then flourishing mining town near, and across the ridge from Forest City (see Note 254, 1858) in the southern part of Sierra County some five miles east of the "Mountain House" on the Downieville Road. Alleghany (the term "City" was usually omitted) developed after the great "Blue Lead" had been discovered on the other side of the Oregon Creek divide from Forest City, and the town took its name from the Alleghany Tunnel, which tapped the pay streak in October, 1855. A post office was established in 1857 and the town thrived for a number of years. (See Fariss & Smith, *History of Plumas, Lassen and Sierra Counties*, 1882, pp. 473-76.)

62. The Reese River excitement commenced early in 1862 when William M. Talcott, a former pony express rider, discovered a rich quartz lead in Pony Canyon on the old pony express route across the Toiyabe Mountains near Jacobs Station of the Overland Mail Company. In May the Reese River Mining District was organized, and in December a new county (Lander County) was carved out of Humboldt and Churchill counties, and the town of Austin, which grew up in the midst of the Pony Canyon mines, at an elevation of 7000 feet, became the county seat in September of the next year. A number of mining districts were organized in this area. (See Thompson & West, *History of Nevada*, 1881, pp. 461-75). No record has been discovered of the "Highland Mary Ledge."

63. Senator Latham's speech at Marysville was considered by the Union sympathizers to have been strongly pro-southern, and throughout the state the Union newspapers berated the Senator for his stand. The *Sacramento Union* and the *Marysville Appeal* bitterly attacked him for what they declared to be his secession sentiments. (See *Union*, Aug. 22, 23, 25, and 26, 1862.)

64. The electors of Yuba County at this election gave Lewis Cunningham (Union party) 2,004 votes to De Long's 1,209. W. H. Parks defeated N. E. Whiteside for Joint-Senator (Yuba and Sutter counties) 2,050 to 1,264. For the Assembly, O. F. Redfield and D. O. Adkison and J. C. Sargent defeated M. K. Napier, R. F. Piat and S. V. Hardestill by similar majorities.

65. The thought of Washoe as a land of refuge during these days of depressed business conditions in California was becoming more and more alluring to De Long.

66. George Franklin Clay, then twelve years old, who had been left with his grandparents in the East when his mother came to California in 1854, was brought west by a friend, Mr. George Jenkins of Marysville, in 1861. Mrs. Nelson writes that, since the mountain settlements did not possess any public schools of consequence until well into the sixties, the De Longs very kindly took the boy to live with them, but that Frank (as she calls him) "was not at all studious and I fear did not feel duly grateful for what was being done for him; for after a few months he came home with a terrible case of fever and ague, induced, Daddy believed, by playing truant and swimming too much in the Slough, now called Ellis Lake." To the little sister (Letty, then but seven) this "fever and ague" was a matter of great interest, since she had never before witnessed anything like it "and couldn't imagine how anybody could be so cold in hot weather." (Re the Clay family see Notes 94, 1857; 151, 1859; 60, 1860, and 57, 1862.)

67. The National Exchange Hotel was on Broad Street, Nevada City, and in 1867 John A. Lancaster and S. L. Hasey were its proprietors. (Bean, *op. cit.* p. 145.)

68. Oliver Perry Stidger was one of the most notable of California's pioneers. He was born in Canton, Ohio, in 1814, and was a farmer until 1849, when he came to California. He kept a hotel at Sacramento until the next spring, when he proceeded to Fosters Bar on the North Yuba and there engaged in mining and store-keeping. From 1851 to 1856 he resided in Marysville, and published the *Marysville Herald*. From 1856 to 1863 he edited the *North San Juan Press*, and in 1864 the *Nevada City Gazette*. He then practiced law at North San Juan for a decade, resuming newspaper work on the *Transcript and Times* at Nevada City in 1873. Five years later he returned to North San Juan, where he resumed his law practice and also

edited the *North San Juan Star*. He was for some years a Justice of the Peace and Associate Justice of the Yuba County Court of Sessions (hence the sobriquet "Judge"). He married Miss Eliza Haun of Pennsylvania in 1836, and after her death married Miss Almira H. Lyon. (T. & W., *Nevada County*, p. 230.) He died at his home in North San Juan on July 2, 1888, member and past president of the Society of California Pioneers.

Stidger was noted for his duel with Colonel Rust (see Notes 56, 1855, and 35, 1856) in June, 1853. He was then editing the *Marysville Herald*, and Rust the *California Express*. It was a fight between "Northern and Southern pluck." Rust's seconds were Lee Martin and Charles S. Fairfax (see Notes 33, 1856, and 5, 1858), and Stidger's were Judge Gordon N. Mott and Judge T. B. Reardon (see Notes 90, 1856, and 58, 1860). Stidger, the challenged party, chose as weapons buckeye rifles with set triggers at sixty paces, but "Mississippi yagers" were finally used. The parties fired twice without effect, when the seconds patched up the affair. Fairfax is said later to have said that he had expected Stidger, a northern man unfamiliar with duelling, to wilt, but that he was mistaken and "it won't do to fool with such men. They have pluck and will die game." (For an excellent account of the duel see Shuck, *Bench and Bar*, 1901, pp. 234-37.)

69. Francis J. Dunn, aged 45 at the time of his death, was one of the leading attorneys of Nevada County in its earliest days. Under the influence of liquor he became most eccentric, and many amusing stories are told of his wit when slightly intoxicated. It was declared that Frank Dunn practised at both kinds of bars with equal distinction, and of him Oscar Shuck in his *Bench and Bar of California*, 1901 (pp. 387-88), says: "His practice was large, and he was quite successful in conducting it. He was understood to be scrupulously and even belligerently faithful to his clients, and his convivial habits were broken by spells of sobriety. He was not the greatest toper at the Nevada County Bar, but was probably the most eccentric man when inebriated." He it was who once, in an argument before the court, said: "The remarks of counsel remind me of a quotation from a classical poet. I cannot exactly recall the name of the poet, and I have forgotten the quotation, but if I could repeat it, the court would see that it is apropos." He it was, also, who, on being picked up by passers-by who found him lying by the side of the road, struggled to his feet and in reply to the question "Who are you?" solemnly said, "I (hic!) am Francis J. Dunn (hic!); considered, and justly considered, the best (hic!) lawyer in the (hic!) state of California." (See T. & W., *Nevada County*, p. 96; Bean, *Nevada County*, p. 85.)

70. C. E. De Long's brother, James Reid De Long (see Note 59, 1854) served throughout the Civil War in Company G of the 150th Regiment, N. Y. S. Volunteers, of which he was a corporal, and in 1865 received the personal praise of General John H. Ketcham for his long and patriotic services. (Mrs. Seaman.)

70a. The location of the proposed "Brannan City" has been difficult to ascertain. However, Mr. Stanwood writes that Samuel Brannan owned a large tract of land in the sixties south of the Yuba River on the south side of the Marysville-Smartville road some nine miles from the present gold-dredging town of Hammonton. This tract aggregated some 3600 acres, and was no doubt the "Yuba Ranch" mentioned by De Long. It is evident that "Brannan City" never materialized.

71. See Note 175, 1859.

72. J. H. Taylor, "The Highly Talented Young American Tragedian," as the advertisements put it, arrived in California from Philadelphia on Sept. 30, 1862, and was at once billed as the star of W. H. Leighton's American Theater. In John Banim's five-act tragedy of *Damon and Pythias* he took the part of Damon to Frank Mayo's Pythias, while Edith Mitchell, "the brilliant tragedienne" played Calanthe, and Harry Brown, Dionysius.

73. The California Northern Railroad Company was incorporated in 1860, and permanently organized January 15, 1861, with a capital stock of \$1,000,000. Ground was broken a week later and in 1864 the line was completed between Marysville and Oroville. Butte County subscribed \$209,000 in county bonds to the project, and Marysville donated the right of way within the city. (T. & W., *Yuba County*, p. 111.)

74. The De Long Journal ends with this short entry on December 11, 1862. Within a few months he was en route for Washoe, leaving Elida at the home in Marysville where she awaited the birth of her first child. Unquestionably De Long must have kept a journal of his Nevada experiences, but this has unfortunately disappeared, two fragments only being still in the possession of his family. These fragments date from 1868 and 1869, and will be briefly mentioned in the appendix.

THE JOURNAL OF RILEY ROOT

The discovery of the heretofore unrecorded Journal of Riley Root is of twofold interest. Bibliographically, it adds one further title to the slender list of narratives — and their number can be counted upon the fingers of one hand — which have come to light since the publication in 1921, of Mr. Henry R. Wagner's bibliography of the Overland.¹ Historically, it fills in one of the gaps previously existing in the chronology of the westward movement. Not until its discovery did we have any printed contemporary record of the migration across the plains in 1848.

The volume is an octavo in size, with printed paper wrappers, and contains 143 pages. The wrapper-title differs from the title-page proper in the following particulars. The word "Some" before "Description" is changed to "A," and the imprint reads: "Galesburg, Ill.: Intelligencer Print. 1850. Southwick Davis, Compositor," the whole enclosed within decorative borders. The collation is as follows: 8vo. Wrapper title; blank leaf; title; verso blank; [111] Explanatory Note (from the printer, regarding the author's method of punctuation and spelling); [IV] Advertisement (regarding the pronunciation of various geographical names); [V]-37, Journal of Travels; [38] blank; [39]-45, Advice to Emigrants; [46] blank; [47]-66, Description of Oregon; [67]-70, Indians of Oregon; [71]-102, Wailatpu Massacre; [103]-106. Things in Oregon; [107]-111, Gold Mania, or Yellow Fever, as some call it; [112] blank; [113]-131, California Gold Mines Described; [132]-136, Description of California; [137]-143, Homeward Bound.

As will be seen from the collation, the make-up of the pamphlet is unusual. Root's original intention was to publish two separate volumes, one a narrative of his travels, and the other a guide-book for prospective emigrants to Oregon. In a foreword to his daily journal the situation is thus explained:

As I had at one time thought of making a separate history of my every day's travels from St. Josephs to Oregon City in pamphlet form, in order to benefit those who might desire to have a knowledge of the route and its several distances from place to place, at little cost, I determined to keep as accurate an account of the distances I traveled every day, together with such remarks in a condensed form as might be deemed necessary to guide the traveler to Oregon. . . . I therefore commenced my reckoning of distances from day to day by the rotation of a wagon-wheel. at St. Josephs, and kept it up unceasingly till I arrived at Oregon City. But finding this mode of writing somewhat inconvenient, and thinking, likewise, that the history of my travels might not be altogether uninteresting, although at somewhat more cost, I have concluded to insert them in this place with my journal of travels.

Quite possibly the gold discovery and the resultant demand for "Guides" to California, rather than to Oregon, had something to do with the change in plans and Root's decision to incorporate all of his material within the confines of a single book.

The narrative opens April 3, 1848, on which date Root set out from his

¹ Wagner (H. R.) *The Plains and the Rockies: A Bibliography of Original Narratives of Travel and Adventure, 1800-1865*. San Francisco, 1921. 193 pp. 8vo.

Frederick M. Moore
JOURNAL OF TRAVELS

FROM

ST. JOSEPHS TO OREGON,

WITH

OBSERVATIONS OF THAT COUNTRY,

TOGETHER WITH

SOME DESCRIPTION OF CALIFORNIA,

ITS AGRICULTURAL INTERESTS,

AND

A Full Description

OF

ITS GOLD MINES.

~~~~~  
BY RILEY ROOT.  
~~~~~

GALESBURG:

GAZETTEER AND INTELLIGENCER PRINTS.

1850.

REPRODUCTION OF TITLE PAGE

(Courtesy of W. R. Coe, owner of the original)

home in Knox County, Illinois. Proceeding to Nauvoo, the erstwhile Mormon Zion, he found the place, as a result of the exodus, "vacated of three-fourths of its inhabitants, and the Temple fast going to decay." From Nauvoo he journeyed down the river to Quincy, there to visit and bid farewell to his daughter, a young lady of sixteen, who was attending school at the Mission Institute. The leave-taking over, he proceeded southward to St. Louis, and from thence to St. Joseph, "where most of the emigrants meet before leaving the United States for Oregon."

The frontier outpost, which, Root tells us, "five years ago was a field of hemp," now boasted a population of "1,800 inhabitants, and contained 18 stores, 3 drug stores, 9 groceries, 6 tailor shops, 8 blacksmith shops, 2 tin shops, 3 taverns, 3 boarding houses, 1 steam and 1 water flouring mill, and 2 steam saw mills." Among its residents were included "15 lawyers, 11 doctors, 2 silversmiths and 2 gunsmiths."

At St. Joseph, Root joined a party of emigrants bound for Oregon, and on April 25 the company crossed the Missouri River and set out upon the long journey. On the 27th the train was duly "organized into a company of 15 or 20 wagons," with such regulations as were "deemed necessary for our safety through the Indian country." The following day they reached the Iowa and Sac Indian Mission School, some 25 miles west of St. Joseph, where they remained for three days. The school was conducted by Messrs. S. M. Erwin and H. W. Hamilton, who gave the little band welcome, and showed Root over the schoolhouse and mission dwelling. Root describes the structure as a two-story affair "106 feet in length by about 40 in width, with a basement for cooking and dining-rooms." The two upper stories were "occupied as school room, lodging rooms and dwelling for the superintendent," and in one of the rooms was "a library and a printing press." The attendance numbered 26 pupils, "mostly girls from ten to twelve years old, dressed in American costume."

On Sunday, Mr. Erwin visited the emigrants at their nearby camp and preached to them a sermon. So too, did one of the Indians. What Mr. Erwin had to say is not recorded, but the discourse of the Red brother has been preserved to us. His theme was frankness and his disquisition brief. Said he:

"Me good to steal horses!"

To which one of the emigrants replied—

"You must not steal our horses."

The Indian still further announced—

"Ah, me good to steal horse."

Leaving the sphere of religious influence bright and early the next morning, the company wended westward toward the Platte, heartened, no doubt, by Mr. Erwin's parting and somewhat equivocal assurance that they "would pass no nation of Indians on the route to Oregon more vicious than those of that place." On May 14, on Blue River, they killed their first buffalo. The next day the train was augmented by the addition of "a few wagons which had been traveling

behind us" and which "came up and joind our party, making in all about thirty wagons."² The Platte was reached on the 16th. Here, at Grand Island, on the day before, had occurred one of the periodical raids of the Sioux upon the Pawnees — and with the usual result. In their wild flight the Pawnees "were obliged to throw away their robes and other property, which was strewd along the road 15 or 20 miles' distance." Root observes that "by this circumstance we passed the Pawnees without seeing an individual Indian." It was otherwise, however, in the case of the Sioux, who, without actually attacking the train kept it in a constant state of harrassment. Finally, through the intervention of "an Indian trader by the name of Richards," a pow-wow was arranged with the band. "On our approach," says Root, "we found them seated in a semi-circular form, with their two chiefs, Whirlwind and Badwoon, in the center, with the American flag erected within and in front of the chiefs, ready to receive us." After mutual pledges of friendship were exchanged, the red audience indicated to the sadly outnumbered Caucasians that something more substantial than oratory was necessary to convince them of the white man's deep affection for the Indian — especially the Sioux Indian. "Accordingly they spread their robes and blankets on the ground within the half circle," upon which the dutiful emigrants "bestowd their 'gifts' of flour, corn-meal, bacon, and every such thing."

With appreciably lightened loads, but now rid of the Sioux, the company proceeded onward up the Platte; and it was while traveling along this stream, one evening after the day's march was over, that Root fell to pondering on the subject of the emigrant and his journey, with the following result:

One evening at twilight, whilst sitting to view,
On the banks of the Platt, to me 'twas quite new,
Nor sadden or lonely, as one in despair
Sees the beasts of the forest just 'merged from their lair,
But cheerful and tranquil, I cast my eyes o'er
The wide-spreading Platt, where I ne'er roamd before.

Its banks are all plat, and its islands are flat,
Its waters are tranquil, and turbid at that.
Protrusion of sandbars are seen all along,
To hinder the boatman — here's nought of his song.
Still anxious for knowledge, I turned me around,
And saw at short distance what covered the ground.

'Twere wagons, full many, an Oregon train,
Who'd left their lovd homes, ne'er to see them again.
If you ask what their hearts speak whilst moving along,
I fear they will mingle a tear with their song,
Whilst telling the story of wandering so far,
With their dear earthly all in their pockets and car.

² Adopting the usual method of computation of five persons to the wagon, the train as now finally constituted consisted of some 150 persons. It is interesting to observe in this connection that the entire immigration for the year, as given by the *Californian* of November, 1848, was "about seven hundred people." The Root train thus accounts for more than a sixth of the total migration of the year.

The parent is anxious for his loving child,
The dame is more careless, less cautious and mild,
The lad cares for little, if father is near,
Of wars or of bloodshed — he'll shrink to the rear.
Then who shall watch over, and daily provide
For this onward band, which so near are allid?

'Tis He who makes water spring out of a rock,
Abundance shall follow — He cares for His flock.
Then onward, brave pilgrims, your Canaan is near,
You'll soon cross the Jordan (Cascades) with hearts full of cheer.

On June 3 Fort Laramie, a fur-post "built of sun-dried bricks, with timbers to support the bricks and form the doors and windows, and done in the coarsest manner," was reached. Here, a three-day halt was made to rest and recruit the stock in preparation for the more arduous haul through the mountain regions ahead. Root notes that the American Fur Company was "at present" in a "somewhat prosperous state." He was informed by the Principal at the Fort that "the Company shipd from Fort Pier, the year 1847, more than 80,000 buffalo robes, between 11,000 and 12,000 of which were obtained at Fort Laramie, besides a great amount of other peltry." Root foresaw, however, the inevitable destruction of the buffalo, and predicts that "this source of profit will at length fail." The idyll of the squaw-man was viewed by him with tolerant eyes. Commenting thereon, he observes: "What is most attractive is, within these dwellings (at the fort) are seen the white man and the rusty looking Indian woman, living lovingly together, whilst the little papooses are playing together as happily." At no other point in his narrative has Root a kind word for the Indian.

Leaving the Fort on the 7th, Platte Crossing was reached on the 15th. Here "the Mormons had arrived a few days previous, and preparad a raft for crossing." The next day the company crossed over to the north side of the stream. On the 19th the Sweetwater was reached, and on the 27th, the South Pass. Thence they proceeded to Little Sandy, and by way of Greenwood's Cut-Off to the "Great" Sandy. Green River, "the half-way point between St. Josephs and Oregon City," was reached on June 30. Here sickness began to attack the train. On July 9 they laid over at Bear River with fifteen sick, one of whom died during the day.

From the Bear the company crossed to Fort Hall, from whence, following the Snake, off and on for some three weeks, they reached, on August 6, "Fort Boyce, located in a pleasant place, on the bank of Snake River." The stream here was "near a quarter of a mile wide, and the only means of ferrying it, a canoe brought from the Payette, 250 miles" away. Here the Snake was crossed and left for the last time. On the 8th they reached the Malheur, where "Mr. Meek attempted a cut-off to Oregon City [in 1845], by following up the course of this river south for some distance, and then directing his course westward, till he should arrive at Willamet Valley, south a considerable distance

from Oregon City. His attempt proved a failure, with the loss of considerable property and the lives of some of his company. It is said there were nearly 200 wagons in his train."³

The scarified regions north of the Malheur were next encountered. Toiling through this disrupted and jagged waste "fit only for a Hercules to use in leveling off the surface of some planet," Root gives voice to the unuttered lament of many who had preceded, and more who were yet to follow him, when he wistfully exclaims: "Oh when shall I view once more a verdant landscape! One thousand miles of naked rocks! Landscape without soil! River bottoms with scarcely grass enough to support emigrant teams. Who can but think of his native home and the 'old oaken bucket'?"

Continuing northward, Burnt River was reached on August 11, and on the 14th, Powder River, which Root facetiously describes as "a delightful Eden — had it soil and were it covered with luxuriant grasses." Nor is Fremont spared. His favorable view of the latent fertility of this red and naked region occasions the nettled and way-worn diarist to observe tartly: "Although [his] analysis . . . may be such as indicates good soil, yet with a little exaggeration it may be said that another shovelful of earth would have taken nearly all the soil of the whole valley." The more hospitable regions of the Grande Ronde were reached on the 16th, but due to fires set by the Indians, a heavy haze overhung the entire route from Powder River to Grande Ronde, and Root more than once complains: "The air so smoky that we can see but a short distance."

Proceeding from Grande Ronde, the train turned to the west, crossing the Blue Mountains to the headwaters of the Umatilla. On the 19th, at Lee's Encampment, they were met by two men sent on "from Fort Waters, where the late murders were committed, with news that we had nothing to fear from hostile Indians any further on our route."⁴ The tidings, Root notes, "gave great encouragement to the timorous emigrants."

Following down the Umatilla, the party nooned on the 24th "on the battleground of the 24th of February, between Oregon soldiers and the Cayuse Indians."⁵ On the 28th they crossed the John Day, and on the 30th reached the Deschutes. Here two days were spent in calking the wagons and ferrying the stream. On September 3 the Cascades and Barlow's Gate were reached. No "gate" was in evidence, but they found Mr. Barlow "sitting there at the receipt

³ For an account of this disastrous expedition see: *The Narrative of Samuel Hancock, 1845-1860*. New York, 1927.

⁴ See Bancroft (H. H.) *History of Oregon*. San Francisco, 1888, vol. 1, pp. 736-37, note. The historian cites a letter from Governor Abernethy to Col. Waters, dated June 15th, 1848, suggesting the despatch of troops to the eastward to protect the emigrants; and a Circular of Lee's evidently intended to be forwarded to meet the emigration at Laramie or Fort Hall, warning them of the existing hostilities with the Cayuse and Columbia River Indians.

⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 709-11.

of custom, allowing each emigrant wagon to pass his road through the Cascade Mountains, at the moderately healthy sum of five dollars each, which the Government of Oregon had authorized him to receive." A week amidst the crags and precipices of the coastal range, and Root's opinion of Samuel K. Barlow had undergone a decided change. "As miserable a road as it was," he now exclaims, "thanks be to Mr. Barlow for his energetic movement in opening a way through so rough a district."

On September 11 the "first settlement at the west foot of the Cascades" was reached. Two days later and the emigrants were emigrants no longer. A new citizenry had arrived. Oregon City had been reached.

* * * *

The "Advice to Emigrants;" the "Description of Oregon;" and the "Indians of Oregon," which follow Root's overland narrative, are made up of things read and things seen, in about equal proportions. The first mentioned is taken in large part, and with due credit, from Palmer's narrative.⁶ It concludes with a discussion of the mad "scheme of making a railroad from the States to California," then "much chanted of in the public papers." Regarding this chimerical project Root minces no words:

I can only speak [he says] for one person, and this much it is, that if Whitney⁷ knew that out of 2,000 miles overland, more than 1500 of it is a waste, barren tract, and likewise much of it very rugged, he might be prepared to think as I do, that the income of such a road would never keep it in repair.

The "Description of Oregon" extends to five chapters, and embraces an account of the country from the coast eastward to South Pass, with sketches of the climate, geographical features, the agricultural and mineral resources, natural curiosities, animals, etc. In his account of the "Indians of Oregon," Root reveals himself as an exponent of the "good Indian — dead Indian" doctrine. His actual contact with the native, was, in reality, but slight, and his view was obviously influenced by his proximity — both in time and locality — to the ghastly affair at Waiilatpu. In a manner reminiscent of Aesop of old, he delineates the red man's character through the medium, and at the expense of the animal kingdom. To Root, the "sly and thieving fox" and the "venomous snake" were but weak synonyms for "poor Lo."

The grisly and harrowing narrative of the Whitman or "Waiilatpu Massacre" which follow Root's own account of the Indians, is wholly from the pen of H. H. Spalding, who, himself, so narrowly escaped the tragic fate of his co-workers, and whose young daughter, Eliza, was an eye-witness of the fiendish slaughter. Although not so stated, the account is evidently taken from the *Oregon American*,⁸ wherein it first appeared.

⁶ Palmer (Joel) *Journal of Travels Over the Rocky Mountains*. Cincinnati, 1847.

⁷ Whitney (Asa) *A Project for a Railroad to the Pacific*. New York, 1849.

⁸ *The Oregon American and Evangelical Unionist*. Vol. 1. Nos. 1 to 8. (All published), 127 pp. June, 1848-May, 1849. Tualatin Plains, 1848-9.

Root's observations and experiences in the Northwest are brought to an end with his account of "Things in Oregon." The opening entry, dated March 8, 1849, reveals him as once again in Oregon City "after having roamed up and down the valley in pursuit of information." Governor Lane had arrived on the first of the month "bringing the new government with him in his pocket" and the "big men of the place" were "brushing up their boots and putting on their best clothes, as the governor passes the streets, hoping as he passes along, that his eye may fall upon them placidly." "I do not very well know," avows Root, "what such things mean, though I suppose that politicians do." Under date of April 10 Root notes his decision to leave Oregon for the California mines.

For seven long months he had heard of little else, and in his chapter on the "Gold Mania" he gives a vivid picture of these crowded months, during which "not a day passed, Sundays not excepted, without the mention by some one in my presence of the gold speculation." The astounding news of the discovery burst upon the territory the month before his arrival, and within that first month, he tells us, "nearly 2,000 persons" had forsaken their homes and farms and joined in the mad rush to the new El Dorado. "The wheat harvest was not yet ended, yet so great was the delirium . . . that many farmers left their fields unfinished, giving them up gratuitously to any one who might be disposed to harvest them, or let them waste upon the ground." The *Oregon Spectator*, quoting the *Californian*, and apparently heedless of its effect on future circulation, published long accounts of the amazing discoveries, the extent of which would "give profitable employment to 100,000 persons for generations to come." Carefully calculating the yield, the paper came to the conclusion that "one ounce per day is the lowest we can put for each person." Through the winter "the fever continued with unabated fury, increasing in its sanguinary features as the warm season approached, preying upon the heart and vitals of every human being in Oregon."

Succumbing then, at last, Root proceeded to Astoria, from whence, on April 26, he sailed with a party of gold hunters for San Francisco, arriving May 7. In the harbor, which was "large enough to contain the shipping of the whole world" he "counted about 60 vessels . . . most of which were inactive for want of men to work them, they having left for the mines."

From San Francisco the gold hunters journeyed to the Southern mines by way of the "St. Waukeen." The river trip ended at a "little cloth town called Stockton," where numerous other ships were lying about "disrobed of their sails to make cloth houses of." Here the company hired a teamster to transport their goods and implements to the mining district some seventy miles beyond, "for which," feelingly observes Root, "we paid him for one wagon-load, more than *fourteen hundred dollars*, rated at 30 cents per pound." For those opulent individuals, who, after negotiating with the freighters could still afford the luxury

of a ride to the diggings, "conveyances were got up at a charge of two ounces of gold dust for each passenger."

After a brief stay at the Southern mines, Root journeyed northward to the Sacramento district. Of the workaday life of the mines, he gives but little detail; its more colorful aspects, however, are gone into with evident *eclat*. A typical Sunday is thus described:

The reader may greatly wonder what is the mode of spending the Sabbath, when I say to him, that the Sabbath appears as silent as the house of mourning. Seldom is a man seen with his implements in his hands, laboring for gold. All around is quiet, except now and then a few horsemen are passing from one little town to another, for purposes best known to themselves. What then is the wonderful employment or idle condition of miners upon that day? Alas! Every public tent through the whole mining region is resorted to for gambling. In each of these tents, stands from one to four or six monte tables, around which, miners of all classes assemble to risk their fortunes . . . On opposite sides of the table, sit two men, who manage the affairs of the bank, and deal the cards by which the fate of bettors is determined. This game of cards is carried on from morning till night, and often through the following night till twilight breaks upon them, with the stillness and quiet of a religious assemblage.

On the score of prices at the diggings, Root is also vociferously informative.

We quote:

Tea, per pound, \$2 to \$4. Common sized frying pans, \$8. Tin pans, a large size, \$8 apiece. India rubber elastic cots, \$50 to \$75 each. Calf-skin shoes, per pair, \$8, and boots at \$16. Lumber, scarce, at \$2 per ft. Pint tin cups at \$1.50 each. Coarse sheeting, 50 cents per yard. Flour, per pound, from 75 cts. to \$1. Pork, per pound, \$1. Beans, per lb., \$1. Rice, per pound, 62½ cents. Light bread, per loaf, \$1. Beef, 25 cents the pound. Potatoes, by the pound, 50 cents. Green peas preserved in air-tight jars, per pint, \$4. Onions, per pound, \$2.

Medical services were likewise a weighty item, "each visit, near to patient, is 1 oz. of gold, or \$16. Very extravagant prices are charged for distant visits." An earlier McTeague was busy on the Upper Sacramento, pulling aching molars "at the rate of \$10 per extraction."

Of the administration of justice in the mining district, Root's account merits a final somewhat lengthy quotation. He says:

Wherever a sufficient assemblage of miners exists to be thought worthy of judicial attention, an alcalda or justice of the peace is appointed, who presides over the judiciary department, with almost as unlimited sway as an emperor. And although in addition to an alcalda, a sheriff is appointed to a permanent office, and cases are almost universally tried by a jury, which is summoned by the sheriff, yet they are generally selected of a stamp congruous to the feelings of the alcalda. From the decisions, no appeal can ever be made, whether right or wrong. I would likewise remark, that decisions are apt to be made against the party having the most gold, and especially if one of the parties is rather low in circumstances. Such a state of judicial dispensation may seem somewhat objectionable, at first thought, but when we reflect, that where no legislation exists, lynch law is the only mode of dispensing justice, to which men can well resort, and this is so terrific in its consequences of criminal justice, that rogues tremble in view of its administration. Much more civility and less theft exists in the mines than might at first be supposed. The costs of legal services may be arranged somewhat as follows: Alcaldas, for each suit, 1 oz. To the sheriff, 1 oz. To each jurymen, half an ounce of gold, — and legal pleadings are often enormous, even to \$100 for the service of an hour or two.

From the Sacramento, Root returned to the Southern mines, where he remained until October, leaving on the 13th for San Francisco. In all, he spent

some five months in the two districts, "seeing nearly all of the 'Elephant' in his varied and portentous displays." One would like to know something of his success at the mines, but on that subject his silence is as near as we may come to the precious metal. Perhaps his reticence and his early departure tell the story as clearly as could his words.

The San Francisco of May, with its 5,000 inhabitants, now boasted a population of 25,000; the "60 idle vessels lying deserted in the bay" now totalled more than twice as many. Two steamers were plying between the metropolis and Sacramento, and another steam vessel was being "put together at Suisan Bay, for the navigation of the St. Waukeen." So was California coming on apace, as Root turned homeward.

On October 21 he sailed for home by way of Panama. The trip down was a rough one and took forty days. He speaks of his safe arrival as affording him and his fellow-passengers "an epoch of satisfaction." The Panamanians, he found "cleanly in dress, plain in manners, familiar in their conversation, unassuming in their style, and liberal in their hospitalities." The Señoritas, however, come in for a measure of reproof. It appears that "in their behavior, their sitting and reclining postures had an unchaste appearance."

Crossing the Isthmus to Chagres, he sailed for New Orleans on December 8, from whence, on the 21st, he journeyed by steamboat to St. Louis, whither he arrived on the closing day of the year. He left St. Louis, January 2, 1850, and arrived home on January 8, "having been gone one year, nine months and five days."

EDWARD EBERSTADT.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

The Santa Fe Trail to California, 1849-1852. The Journal and Drawings of H. M. T. Powell, Edited by Douglas S. Watson. San Francisco, The Grabhorn Press, 1931. Three hundred copies printed for The Book Club of California. Folio, [16]+ 272 pp. Illust., maps.

The manuscript journal of H. M. T. Powell, with its magnificent drawings of California missions and pueblos, has long been known to scholars as one of the two or three most important contemporary accounts of the Gold Rush, particularly in view of its detail of experience along the Santa Fé route. This journal has now been published in a format worthy of its importance. Indeed, probably never before has the humble diary of a California immigrant been presented in such worthy and beautiful fashion. In many respects this is the finest book yet produced by the Grabhorns, and the Book Club of California is to be commended for its enterprise in making possible the printing of this remarkable historical volume.

Little is known of the author. In a brief foreword Mr. Watson relates the futile efforts to trace Powell's story in his old home at Greenville, Illinois, and among descendants thought to be living in California. However, as Mr. Watson aptly remarks:

Who or what Powell himself makes little difference. It is the record he has given us that counts. . . . In its completeness of detail and wealth of description of the life and daily doings of his fellow emigrants and the country through which he journeyed, it is unsurpassed. Many diaries of travelers by way of the South Pass to California in the years from 1846 to 1850 have been published, and but very few covering the Santa Fé, Gila, Colorado Trail. Of all these none is its equal.

Whoever and whatever he may have been, Powell was unquestionably an artist, both with his pen and with his pencil. His simple words are at times moving in the extreme, as when he tells of the death of his companion, Isaac W. Carter, of that terrible scourge of the plains — the cholera. And his drawings are superb. Others may have been able better to delineate the human body (though his little sketches of men and animals are pleasing), but his draughtsmanship in the portrayal of buildings and the countryside is unequalled.

Of these memorable drawings the large views of the towns of San Diego, Los Angeles and Santa Barbara in 1850 are unique, and the series of sketches which includes ten California and two Arizona missions is delightful in the extreme. The view of Los Angeles is probably the earliest authentic representation of that city — with its vineyards along the river and its adobe houses straggling haphazard along the edge of the hills. Through the courtesy of Mr. Edwin Grabhorn we are here able to present Powell's drawing of the Santa Barbara Mission as it stood in 1850, and while the smaller size of the page on which this *Quarterly* is printed serves slightly to mar the effect of the drawing as it appears in the large folio, some idea of the rare quality of these pencil



Mission of San Francisco

sketches may be gained from this print. The reproduction of these faded drawings is in itself an achievement of which the printers may well be proud.

Were space available, much more might be said of this book — of its typographical excellence, its ingenious index system, and its unusually decorative and informative maps (reduced from Emory's Report and containing a tracing of Powell's route). Certainly no serious collector of Californiana can afford to be without this volume, and it is to be hoped that the Grabhorns may from time to time publish many other such books based upon equally important western historical material.

CARL I. WHEAT.

Leland Stanford, War Governor of California, Railroad Builder and Founder of Stanford University. By George T. Clark, Director Emeritus of Stanford University Library, Stanford University Press, 1931. xv 491 pp. Illust. 8vo.

Strange as it may seem, until the appearance of this volume, no adequate account of the career of Leland Stanford had ever been published in book form. Mr. Clark was not only fitted by training to write this book; he was also fortunate in having access to a mass of material which had hitherto been held confidential.

During his lifetime Stanford was the center of many bitter controversies. He took charge of the Central Pacific's "legislative business" (lobbying, and electing men who would support its policies), but strange to say the hail of denunciation which fell about the railroad fell lightly upon Stanford's head. His early services to the Republican party were great — he was its first California Governor. As one of "the Big Four" in the railroad enterprise he seems to have been the one man to retain public esteem. As Senator from California from 1885 to his death in 1893 he failed to disclose any unusual traits of mind, but was a good, middle-of-the-road legislator, and the whispers of scandal which were at one time rife respecting his election seem to be effectually squelched by the testimony adduced by Mr. Clark. However, it is as the founder of the University that he will be longest remembered. Into that effort he put his soul as well as his money.

Much unpublished material is here gathered together, and the picture of Stanford which emerges is that of a none too brilliant man who, nevertheless, was — perhaps by chance but certainly partly by his own abilities — a tremendous business success, who possessed essentially humanitarian sentiments and qualities, and who never quite lost touch with the common people of his state and nation.

CARL I. WHEAT.

WESTERN HISTORY

A Check List of Recent Items Relating to California and the West*

ADAMS, JAMES TRUSLOW

Epic of America. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1931. viii+433 pp. Illust. 8vo. [Woodcuts by M. J. Gallagher.]

AIKEN, C.

Movement for revision of the California Constitution: the State Constitution Commission. *Amer. Pol. Sci. Review*, Vol. 25, pp. 337-42, May, 1931.

ANONYMOUS

The Marshall Monument. *California History Nugget*, Vol. III, No. 4, April-May, 1930.

J. E. B.

Old Fort Bliss — A Stronghold of the North. *California History Nugget*, Vol. III, No. 3, February-March, 1930.

BAMFORD, GEORGIA LORING

The Mystery of Jack London. Privately printed by the author, 1931. 225 pp. Illust. 8vo. [Withdrawn shortly after publication; now unavailable.]

BARKER, RUTH LAUGHLIN

Caballeros: the Romance of Santa Fé and the Southwest. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1931.

BIRNEY, HOFFMAN

Zealots of Zion. Philadelphia: Penn Publishing Co., 1931. 317 pp. Illust. 8vo. [Mormon history. Contains some noteworthy old photographs.]

BOLTON, HERBERT E.

Outpost of empire; the story of the founding of San Francisco. New York: A. A. Knopf, 1931. xxi+334 pp. Illust. 8vo. [A reprinting of the first volume of the author's "Anza's California Expeditions," University of California Press, 1930.]

BONNARD, ABEL

St. Francis of Assisi. New York: Longmans Green and Co., 1931. v+157 pp. [Translated by Cleveland B. Chase.]

BONNER, T. D.

The Life and Adventures of James P. Beckwourth. Edited by T. D. Bonner. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1931. [A new editing by Bernard De Voto of the account dictated by Beckwourth to Bonner, and published in 1856.] xl+405 pp., frontis.

BOURDON, J.

Les Russes en Californie. *Revue Politique et Littéraire* [286 boul. Saint-Germain, Paris]. Vol. 69, pp. 467-71, August, 1931.

*Readers will confer a favor by furnishing out-of-the-way items for notice in this department. We shall cite books, pamphlets, broadsides, magazine and important newspaper articles of historical value. Send to the Secretary of the Society the items themselves or a card with the title written in the form used here. — CHARLES L. CAMP.

CARSON, JAMES H.

Life in California. *The Magazine of History* [Tarrytown, New York: William Abbatt], 1931. Vol. 41, No. 4. [A reprint of the rare original edition, printed at Stockton in 1852, never before reprinted and justly considered one of the best early accounts of interior California.]

CLEMENS, CLARA [MRS. OSSIP GABRILÓWITSCH]

My Father, Mark Twain. New York: Harper Bros., 1931. vii+292 pp. 8vo. [Illustrated with family photographs, and containing hitherto unpublished letters.]

CLOUD, ROY W.

On the trails of yesterday. San Francisco: Harr Wagner Press, 1931. [Across the plains in 1853, an original narrative from recollections of the author's mother.]

COLORADO RIVER COMMISSION

Colorado River and the Boulder Canyon project; historical and physical facts in connection with the Colorado River and lower basin development. Sacramento: printed by the Commission, 1931. 400 pp., illust. 8vo.

[COOLEY, WINCHESTER, JR.]

Banking in the good old days. *Bankamerica News*, Vol. V, No. 10, October, 1931.

COY, OWEN C.

Trails of the Forty-Niners. *California History Nugget*, Vol. III, No. 3, February-March, 1930.

CROSS, IRA B. [EDITOR]

Frank Roney, Irish rebel and California labor leader; an autobiography. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1931. xxxvi+573 pp. Illust. 8vo.

CUSHING, CHARLES S.

The Contention of the nations for the San Francisco Bay region. *Quarterly of the Society of California Pioneers*, Vol. VIII, No. 2, June, 1931.

EISELE, WILBERT E.

The real Wild Bill Hickok, famous scout and knight chivalric of the plans — a true story of pioneer life of the Far West. Denver, 1931. 250 pp. Illust.

FRANCIS, JESSE DAVIES

Don Abel Stearns, a Yankee caballero. *California History Nugget*, Vol. III, No. 3, February-March, 1930.

—Los Angeles, area 4 square leagues, population 44. *California History Nugget*, Vol. III, No. 4, April-May, 1930.

—Thomas O. Larkin, silent partner of his government. *California History Nugget*, Vol. III, No. 4, April-May, 1930.

FULLER, GEORGE W.

History of the Pacific Northwest. New York, 1931. xvi+401 pp. Illust.

FYNN, A. J.

Furs and forts of the Rocky Mountain West. *The Colorado Magazine*, Vol. VIII, No. 6, November, 1931.

GAYTON, A. H.

Yokuts-Mono chiefs and shamans. *University of California Publ. Amer. Archaeol. and Ethnol.*, Vol. 24, 1930, pp. 361-420.

GHENT, W. J.

The Early Far-West, 1540-1850. New York: Longmans Green and Co., 1931.
[A fine summary of frontier history.]

GLASSCOCK, C. B.

The Big Bonanza, the story of the Comstock Lode. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1931. 368 pp., illust. 8vo.

HANNA, PHIL TOWNSEND

Libros Californianos, or five feet of California books. Los Angeles: Jake Zeitlin, 1931. 74 pp. 12mo. [Hanna's selection includes the Chapman and Cleland histories; Bolton's *Anza*; *The Annals of San Francisco*; Dana's *Two Years*; Wagner's *Drake*; Edwin Bryant's 1846 Journal, Twain's *Roughing It*; McGlashan's *Donner Party*; Manly's *Death Valley*; Bayard Taylor's *Eldorado*; Palou's *Serra*; Davis' *Sixty Years*; Newman's *Sixty Years*; Robinson's *Life*; Bell's *Reminiscences*; Bancroft's *Pastoral and Inter Pocula*; Josiah Royce's *California*; Shinn's *Mining Camps*; King's *Mountaineering*; Edith Clements' *Flowers of Coast and Sierra*; Wharton James' *Colorado Desert*; Jepson's *Trees of California* (1923) and Kroeber's *Handbook of the Indians*. No two people will agree on lists of this sort. One might substitute for some of the above: The Zenas Leonard Journal; the Duhaut-Cilly voyage; John Muir's *First Summer in the Sierra*; and Dale's Ashley-Smith Explorations.

HESS, JOHN W.

With the Mormon Battalion [Extract from the Hess MS journal.] *Utah Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 4, No. 2, April, 1931.

HITCHCOCK, ETHAN ALLEN

A Traveler in Indian Territory, the journal of Ethan Allen Hitchcock. Edited with annotations by Grant Foreman. Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1930. 270 pp. Illust., map.

HULBERT, ARCHER BUTLER

Forty-Niners. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1931. xvii+340 pp. Illust. 8vo. [A made-up diary with choice early songs and cartoons.]

JONES, THOMAS R.

California in the days of gold. Pasadena: Golden West Book Co., 1931.

KEEP, ROSALIND A.

Fourscore years, a history of Mills College. Oakland [Mills College], 1931.

LAKE, STUART N.

Wyatt Earp, frontier marshal. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1931. xiv+392 pp., illust. 8vo. [His Tombstone career is not neglected and it is only a part of the book.]

LARKIN, MARGARET

Singing cowboy, a book of Western songs. New York: Alfred Knopf, 1931. 196 pp. 8vo.

LAUT, AGNES C.

Pilgrims of the Santa Fe. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co., 1931. x+363 pp. Illust [from photographs]. 8vo.

—The Overland trail. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co., 1929. xxvi+358 pp. Illust. 8vo.

LUKENS, R. R.

The Mutiny of the Schooner "Ewing." Association of Field Engineers U. S. Coast & Geodetic Survey *Bulletin*, June, 1931, pp. 83-86.

LYSER, ALICE I.

Spain and Spanish America in the libraries of the University of California; a catalogue of books. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1928-30. 3 vols., 846; 839 pp.

MAVITY, NANCY BLAIR

Sister Aimee. New York: Doubleday, Doran and Co., 1931. xxiii+360 pp. 8vo. [concerning the noted evangelist.]

McCLATCHY, CHARLES K.

A reprint of an editorial from the Sacramento Bee. [James L. Gillis memorial.] San Francisco: John Henry Nash, privately printed, 1931. [Broadside.]

NUTE, GRACE LEE

The voyageur. New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1931. viii+289 pp. illust. 8vo. [The Canadian fur-trade, east and west.]

OLSON, EDMUND T.

Utah, a romance in pioneer days, with historical accounts of turbulent scenes incident to the adjustments of social and political differences between the Latter-day Saints and the Government of the United States, out of which emerged problems that puzzled and perplexed America's ranking statesmen, including episodes touching the marriage system. Salt Lake City: published by the author, 1931. xix+345 [+14] pp. illust. 8vo. [Bungling, and poorly written.]

PINKERTON, ROBERT E.

Hudson's Bay Company. New York: Henry Holt Company, 1931.

ROGIN, LEO

The introduction of farm machinery in its relation to the productivity of labor in the agriculture of the United States during the nineteenth century. I. The Plow, with some consideration of other tillage machinery. II. Wheat production. *University of California Publ. in Economics*, Vol. 9, 1931. ix+260 pp., illust. 8vo. [Agricultural conditions in the West played an important rôle in the development of advanced types of farm machinery.]

SHEDD, JOHN CUTLER

Desert lore. Los Angeles: Jesse Ray Miller, 1931. 47 pp. illust. 8vo. [With artistic photographs by Willard Selwyn Wood and Spencer R. Atkinson.]

SIMPSON, GEORGE

Narrative of a voyage to California ports in 1841-42, together with voyages to Sitka [etc.]. San Francisco: Private Press of T. C. Russell, 1930. Illust. [a new edition.]

SLOAN, BLANDING

The Ghost towns of California. [A series of etchings, by the artist, 9174 Sunset Boulevard, Hollywood, Calif.]

SMITH, MARGARET DAMA

Hopi girl. Stanford University: Stanford University Press, 1931. ix+273 pp. 8vo. [A sympathetic account of Hopi family life by one familiar and friendly with the Indians of the Southwest. Encroachments of "civilization" and the breaking up of tribal life by the sending of the young children to distant

schools have created problems to which Mrs. Smith directs attention. A graceful and fascinating story of the life of an Indian woman.]

SPIER, LESLIE

Klamath ethnography. *University of California Publ. Amer. Archaeol. and Ethnol.* Vol. 30, 1930. 338 pp. illust.

TUTTLE, CHARLES M.

Diary, 1859. *The Wisconsin Magazine of History*, September, 1931. Vol. XV, No. 1.

WAGNER, HENRY R.

The earliest documents of El Pueblo de Nuestra Señora la Reina de Los Angeles. [Los Angeles: Privately printed by the author, 1931.] 5 pp. illust. [A summary, with facsimiles, of records in Mexico City, concerning the founding of the pueblo and the allotment of plots to the first settlers in September, 1781.]

WALSH, MARIE T.

"The Mission of the Passes," Santa Ines. Los Angeles: Times-Mirror Press, 1930. 122 pp. illust. 12mo.

WILLISON, GEORGE F.

Here they dug the gold. New York: Brentano's, 1931. 299 pp. illust. 8vo. [Colorado.]

WOODS, JAMES L.

California pioneer decade of 1849. The Presbyterian Church with some mention of other churches, and incidental reference to current events [etc.] San Francisco: Press of the Hansen Co., 1922. viii+184 pp. 8vo. [Written by the son of the well-known pioneer minister. Although published nine years ago this book has just come into the market.]

NEW MEMBERS

NAME	ADDRESS	PROPOSED BY
	<i>Patron</i>	
Graves, Mrs. Walker Coleman	San Francisco	Ernest A. Wiltsee
	<i>Active</i>	
Akins, Miss Zoë	Hollywood	Ernest A. Wiltsee
Arnot, Philip H., M.D.	San Francisco	A. T. Leonard, Jr., M.D.
Carpenter, Mrs. Lewis	San Francisco	Mrs. Richard Heimann
Cowing, S. C.	San Francisco	A. T. Leonard, Jr., M.D.
Hooker, Mrs. Osgood	Burlingame	Carl I. Wheat
Horne, Walter Wilton	Long Beach	Ernest A. Wiltsee
Johnson, Mrs. M. B.	San Francisco	A. T. Leonard, Jr., M.D.
Lowell High School*	San Francisco	Mrs. Francis Williams
McIntosh, Mrs. Charles K.	San Francisco	George Lent
San Francisco Public Library	San Francisco	
Williamson, John M., M.D.	San Francisco	A. T. Leonard, Jr., M.D.

* A gift from Mrs. Francis Williams.

MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY

The Society held a luncheon meeting at the Clift Hotel on Tuesday, September 22, 1931. The speaker of the day was Mrs. Byron Thorpe Carr, daughter of Franklin A. Buck, whose letters written from California and Nevada covering the years 1849 to 1881 have been published under the title of "A Yankee Trader in the Gold Rush." Mrs. Carr spoke of the earlier period covered by the letters, under the title, "Romantic Tales of '49." She supplemented the printed record with material drawn from other sources and from the tales her father told of the recorded adventures. The stories were well told and preserved the humor of her father's written words. He was manifestly one of the cheerful group of unsuccessful miners. Mrs. Carr added to the picturesqueness of the occasion by appearing in a costume of the middle Nineteenth Century. There were about fifty members and guests present.

At the Society's luncheon meeting held on October 20, 1931, Mr. George Ezra Dane spoke, his subject being, "New Strikes in Old Diggings." After speaking of his father's youthful acquaintance with the Southern mines, Mr. Dane told how his family had returned there to acquire a summer home in the old town of Columbia. This contact brought acquaintance with the remaining inhabitants of that historic spot. Mr. Dane had carefully recorded anecdotes, stories, and traditions as told by these various individuals. No minute can give any representation of the stories for each was a word picture that was complete. It was a brief touch with a vanishing past. Their preservation by Mr. Dane was a good piece of historical work. There were sixty-three members and guests present.

ANSON S. BLAKE.

On Tuesday, November 17, 1931, about fifty-five members and guests were present when Mr. Anson S. Blake addressed the Society on "The First Emigrant Train to California." Owing to the illness of Mr. Otto von Geldern, Mr. Blake had kindly consented to substitute for him at the last moment. His theme was a stirring and most interesting account of the expedition of which John Bidwell was a member and in which he arrived in California. Mr. Blake's address was of great interest throughout and held his audience as he portrayed the privations and dangers which this pioneer emigrant train passed through before reaching its destination. The last stage, the crossing of the Sierra at a most impractical point was particularly thrilling. It is a noteworthy fact that another celebrated pioneer, Charles M. Weber, who founded Stockton, came in this same train. Descendants of Mr. Weber and the Murphys were present in the audience.

ERNEST A. WILTSEE.

IN MEMORIAM

MRS. EDITH PILLSBURY BLISS

Mrs. Edith Bliss, wife of Walter D. Bliss, San Francisco architect, died on September 23 at Lake Tahoe, after a long illness. A daughter of E. S. Pillsbury, a sister of Horace D. Pillsbury, and a niece of the late Horace Davis, for many years she was a member of the Women's Auxiliary of the University of California Hospital and was known as "the angel of the children's ward."

ANDREW JOHN MOLERA

On October 8, 1931, Andrew John Molera, scholar, rancher, athlete, bohemian, died in San Francisco. The son of E. J. Molera, a Director of this Society, and Francisca G. Amelia Cooper Molera, he was born at San Francisco, August 27, 1877. Upon graduating from the Urban School he matriculated at the University of California as a member of the Class of 1899, and while at Berkeley distinguished himself both scholastically and as center on the Varsity football team. On leaving college he devoted his attention to managing his estates of over 25,000 acres and the raising of thoroughbred horses and cattle. The world record of 1 mile 70 yards in 1.42½, established by Bubbling Water at Emeryville in 1910, still stands, and the name and achievements of Cloud Light and other of his horses form part of the proudest records of the California turf. His interests were not limited to the above, but included the liberation and propagation of many types of wild life on his estates, and he was most active in kennel club events, for years maintaining at El Sur Rancho and at Monterey one of the largest and without doubt the finest collection of thoroughbred dogs in his native State.

Among Mr. Molera's ancestors was Captain John Baptist Rogers Cooper, half-brother of Thomas O. Larkin, and who arrived in the port of San Francisco on May 28, 1823, going from there to Santa Cruz, and on June 13, 1823, to Monterey where his adobe home, built in 1826, still remains in the possession of the family, while in Dwinelle's *Colonial History of San Francisco* there is a map showing his property in this city which, like the above home, is still in possession of his descendants. El Sur Rancho on the coast, about thirty miles below Monterey, and Rancho La Salinas or Bolsa del Potrero y Moro Cojo Rancho, Spanish grants to Captain Cooper, as well as the Toro Rancho, later purchased, have been highly developed and were personally managed by Andrew Molera since his college days. The credit of introducing artichokes and lettuce as crops in the Castroville section belong to him.

Funeral services were held from the family home, 2025 Sacramento Street, San Francisco, thence to Saint Mary's Cathedral, where a member of this Society, Reverend Richard Collins, officiated, proceeding to Holy Cross Cemetery in San Mateo County.

Mr. Molera was the personification of old Spanish courtesy, chivalry and hospitality, a notable entertainer, and a regal host. He is survived by his father, Eusebius Joseph Molera, and sister, Miss Frances M. Molera.

A. T. LEONARD, JR., M.D.

INDEX

QUARTERLY OF THE
CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Volume X, 1931

INDEX TO VOLUME TEN

- Abella, Fray Ramón, 30
Addresses:
Blake, Anson S., "The First Emigrant Train to California," 413; "Life in the California Mines, 1851-52," 91
Carr, Mrs. Byron Thorpe, "Romantic Tales of '49," 413
Cowan, Robert E., "Alexander S. Taylor, the First Bibliographer of California," 91
Dane, George Ezra, "New Strikes in Old Diggings," 413
Howell, John, "The First Printing in California," 206
Miller, Juanita, "Joaquin Miller," 307
Priestly, Herbert I., "The Californian and His History," 206
Robinson, Edgar E., "Milton S. Latham," 206
Adkison, D. O., 256, 359, 394
Admission of California, 220-42
Adobe, architecture, 203; brick, 303
Affliche, Lenora, 283, 290
Albion Hill, 169, 193
Alcaldes, 18, 23, 24, 29
Alemany, Archbishop J. S., 269, 378, 379, 391
Alleghany City, 348, 382, 394
Almonte, General, Mexican Minister of War, 9, 111
Alturas County bill, 50, 73
Alvarado, Juan B., 5, 32, 35
Alviso, 358
Ambrose Restaurant, San Francisco, 379, 392
American Exchange Hotel, San Francisco, 290
American Fur Company, Fort Laramie, 400
American Theater, San Francisco, 368, 371, 378, 390, 395
Anderson, James, 52, 75
Anian, Strait of, 313
Antelope Valley, 212, 214, 218
Anza, Juan Bautista de, 84, 214, 216; map showing route, facing 211; Bolton's *Anza's California Expeditions*, reviewed, 84
Archulete, 37
Argonaut, San Francisco, 96
Arnold, Ben, 202
Asphaltum at Santa Barbara, 300
Atchison, John, 177, 181, 182, 189
Atchison, Silas, 172
Austin, Nevada, 394
Avieta, Don José, 30, 31
Baker, Col. E. D., 165, 168, 171, 173, 190, 196, 197, 198, 254, 266, 293; portrait facing 165
Baker, George H., 202
Baker, Capt. James, 328
Baker, Jim, 305
Baker Bay, 326
Bald Mountain, 249, 262, 348
Baldwin, E. C., 360, 369
Baldwin, Joseph G., 74, 199, 264
Baldwin, S. D., 200
Ball, Charles, Marysville jeweler, 270
Ballou, S. A., 259
Bancroft, George, 12, 19
Bancroft, H. H., 107, 120-21, 123, 126
Banks, Senator James A., 361, 369
Barbour, Wm. T., 254, 256
Barkley, Capt. Charles W., 325
Barkley Sound, 323
Barlow, Samuel K., 401, 402; his "gate," 401
Barry, William, actor, 376, 389
Bart, Black, 304
Bartleson-Bidwell party, 34
Bartlett, Lieut. Washington, 91, 123, 125, 126
Battle of New Orleans, 41, 62
Beale, General Edward F., 388
Bear Flag of 1846, Californian version, 113; of 1860-61, 268, 289; Cactus and Bear Flag, 289
Bear Flag Revolt, 9-11, 101, 105-15; retranslation of proclamation, 112
Bear River, 183, 184, 192, 347, 348, 349, 351, 400; flag raising, 297
Bear Valley, 347, 348, 350, 351, 352
Beckwourth, James P., 37, 408
Bee, Albert W. and F. A., 207
Belcher, Isaac, 180, 181, 189, 250, 273
Belcher, W. C., 283
Belden, David, 247, 261
Belden, Josiah, 86
Bell, Senator, of Tennessee, 226
Bella Union Melodeon, San Francisco, 276, 290
Benard de Russailh, Albert, 205
Bensley Water Co. (became Spring Valley Water Co.), 391
Benton, Rev. J. A., 278, 292
Benton, Rev. J. E., 189
Benton, Thomas H., 20, 21, 136, 137, 222, 225, 227, 228, 229, 230, 233, 236
Bidwell, John, 34, 355, 413
Birch Minstrels, 181, 200
Biscaccianti, Mme. Elisa, 185, 201, 393
Blake, Anson S., addresses, "Life in the California Mines, 1851-52," 91; "The First Emigrant Train to California," 413; Report of Secretary and Treasurer, 92-94; Meetings of the Society, 91, 206-7, 307, 413
Blake, Charles T., 91
Bliss, Mrs. Edith Pillsbury, *In Memoriam*, 414
Bliss, Leslie E., 79; rarest Calif. books selected by, 80-81
Bliss, Judge S. M., 54, 188, 189, 251, 279, 364
Bodega, Bay and Puerto de la, 318, 330, 331, 334, 339, 341, 344; history of, 337; attempt to colonize, 337-45; diary of Goycochea concerning, 342-45; letter of Matute concerning, 339-41; map facing, 337

- Bodega y Quadra, Juan Francisco de la, 313, 314, 315, 317, 321, 337
- Boggs, L. W., 23
- Boggs, Thomas O., 90
- Bolinas Bay, 338, 342
- Bolton, Herbert E., 319, 408; *In the South San Joaquin Ahead of Garces*, 211-19; *Anza's California Expeditions*, reviewed, 84
- Booker, S. A., 78, 173, 195
- Books relating to California and the West, 79-90, 202-5, 243-44, 302-6, 406-12
- Booth, Newton, 190
- Borrego Valley, 214, 216
- Boruck, M.D., 45, 68, 285
- Botts, Judge Charles T., 63, 153, 158, 159
- Boundaries of Calif., 154-57, 235-36, 237, 238
- Brandy City, 256
- Brannan, Sam, 16, 298-301
- Brannan City, 385, 395
- Brayton, Rev. I. H., 198
- Breckinridge, John C., 252, 257, 268
- Breckinridge Yuba County Convention, 253, 283; State Convention, 356, 367
- Brewerton, Lieutenant George D., 38, 298
- Bridges, over American R. at Folsom, 293; Feather River, 361, 362; *see also* Bridge Bills
- Bridge Bills in Calif. Legislature, 42, 66, 69, 74, 361
- Brier, Rev. W. W., 198
- Briggs, Robt. M., 257, 268
- Briggs' Ranch, Yuba County, 172, 194
- British Vice Consul in California and the Events of 1846, The, Ernest A. Wiltsee, 99-128
- Broderick, David C., 44, 53, 58, 59, 63, 66, 67, 75, 77, 78, 166, 167, 168, 170, 174, 175, 190, 191, 193, 197, 198, 206, 266, 287, 293; bust of, 259, 270; portrait, 175; Resolutions, 272, 287
- Brooks, Noah, 270, 294
- Brown, John, 188, 201
- Brown, John Henry, *Early Days of San Francisco*, 354
- Browne, John Ross, 44, 68, 304
- Bruheim, Adolph, 353, 354
- Bryant, Edwin, quotations from *What I Saw in California*, 352
- Bucareli Bay, 314, 320
- Buchanan, Pres. James, 66, 137, 147, 194
- Buchanan, McKean, actor, 362, 370
- Buchanan, Virginia, actress, 370, 371
- Buck, Franklin A., 202, 413
- Buck Eye Ranch and Sawmill, 171, 194
- Buckmaster, Miss L. A., 246, 248, 260, 287; school, 279
- Buena Vista, Indian village, 213, 214, 215, 217, 219; map facing, 216
- Buena Vista Hills, 213, 214, 215, 216; Lake, 213, 215, 216, 218, 219; Pass, 215
- Burbank, Senator, 274, 289
- Burch, John C., 168, 192
- Burnell, R., elected speaker, 272, 287
- Burnett, Peter H., 73, 76, 139, 145, 163, 199
- Burns', John H., and Maguires' saloon, San Francisco, 393
- By-Laws, Amendments to, 207
- Byrne, James K., 249, 262
- Caamano, Jacinto, 313, 314, 317
- Cabot, Fray, of Mission San Miguel, 29
- Cajon Pass, 36, 215, 216, 217, 218
- Calhoun, John C., 134, 142, 222, 226
- "California's Bantam Cock," *The Journals of Charles E. De Long*, 1854-1863, edited by Carl I. Wheat, 40-78, 165-201, 245-97, 355-95
- California Northern Railroad Company, 386, 395
- California Republic, 11
- California revolution of 1836, 5
- California Steam Navigation Co., 73, 193, 293
- Camels, 94, 282, 295
- Camp, Charles L., review of Bolton, *Anza's California Expeditions*, 84; *Western History* check list, 86-90, 202-4, 302-6, 408-12
- Camp Alert, 375, 379, 389
- Camp Far West, 169, 192, 348
- Camptonville, 56, 171, 359
- Camp Union, 372, 387
- Canyon Creek, 349
- Cape Blanco, 329
- Cape Disappointment, 326
- Cape Flattery, 323
- Carrillo, José Antonio, 30, 151
- Carson, James H., 409
- Carpenter, Miss Mary A., 287, 374
- Carr, Mrs. Byron Thorpe, address, "Romantic Tales of '49," 413
- Carrasco, Archipelago de (Barkley Sound), 323
- Carson, Kit, 37, 298
- Casco House, Sacramento, 40, 174, 247
- Casserly, Eugene, 285, 295, 355
- Castaic Lake, 212, 214, 215
- Castro, José, 35, 99, 100, 101, 106, 114, 120, 121; letters to Forbes, 104, 119; facsimile, facing, 99; letter to Commander of *Portsmouth*, 105; letter to Stockton, 122; proclamation, 123
- Castro, Josepha Moreno, 286
- Cattle industry, 202, 204, 213
- Cavis, Joseph M., 390
- "Caxton" (Wm. Henry Rhodes), 266
- Celina Ridge, 349
- Centerville Racecourse, 198, 296
- Central Pacific Railroad, "Big Four," 288, 392
- Charleston Convention, 249, 262
- Chavez, Gov. José Antonio, initiates commerce bet. New Mexico and Calif., 27, 28
- Chellis, Lieut. Gov., 387
- Cherokee, 349
- "Cherry Hill," 347
- Chetco Point, 329

- Chimney Hill, 168, 192
 Chinese, difficulties in Shasta Co., 71; immigration, 300; fishing bill, 376, 389
 Christian Hill, flag raising, 286, 297
 Christman, Enos, 87
 Circuses: Dr. Bassett's, 280, 293; Lee & Marshall's, 357; National, 368; United States, 293
 Civil government, struggle for, in California 3-26, 129-64, 220-44
 Clark, Dr. Asa, 279, 292
 Clark, George T., his *Leland Stanford* reviewed, 407
 Clark, Mrs. P. B., of school for deaf, blind, 274, 290
 Clay family, of Garden Valley: John, 193, 267; Alvira, 256, 267; George F., 384, 394; Hattie, 193; Willard, 382, 394
 Clay, Henry, 222, 224, 225, 229, 230, 231
 Clayoquot Sound, 337
 Clayton, Hal, 167, 192
 Clayton Compromise, 134-136
 Clemens, Samuel, 409
 Clift, Frederick C., documents in collection of, 99
 Clingman, Representative from N. Carolina, 221
 Clipper ships: *Challenge*, *Comet*, *Flying Cloud*, *Invincible*, *Samuel Russell*, *Sovereign of the Seas*, *Swordfish*, 294
 Coal in California, 1848, 300
 Cock Pit, Sacramento, 277
 Coffroth, James W., 60, 78, 173, 195, 266, 355, 367
 Collins, S. B., "man of mystery," 186, 187
 Colnett, James, 313; at Bodega Bay, 337-38, 339
 Colorado Desert, 27, 85, 214
 Colton, David D., 197, 356
 Colton, Walter, 16, 87, 151, 126; prints first newspaper in California, 299
 Colton Hall, Monterey, 150
 Columbia, old town of, 413
 Columbia Hill, 348
 Columbia River, 317, 318, 326, 327
 Colusa, 248, 252, 258, 359; flag raising, 284, 296
 Comet, June, 1861, 286, 297
 Comstock Lode, 89, 260, 291, 410
 Congregational Church, Sacramento, 292
 Conness, John, 75, 78, 197, 271, 282, 286, 287, 355, 356, 357, 367, 368
 Constitution of California, 81, 163, 222, 302, 408
 Constitutional Convention of '49, 90, 145-46; 150-64; signatures, facing 159
 Contra Costa Steam Navigation Co., 72
 Cook, James, Captain, 321, 328
 Coolbrith, Ina, 87
 Coombs, Frank L., 76
 Cooper, Capt. John Baptist Rogers, 414
 Cope, Edward Drinker, naturalist, 204
 Cora, Charles, 190
 Cordua, Theodore, 353
 Corporation Bill, 273, 288
 Coso mining district, 261, 381, 393
 Coult, Major Theodore, 361, 372, 387
 Covarrubias, José M., 117
 Covillaud, Charles, 269, 383
 Cowan, Robert E., 79, 203; address, "Alexander S. Taylor, the First Bibliographer of California," 91; rarest California books selected by, 79, 82
 Cowell, Mary, 267, 288
 Coyote Canyon, 214, 216
 Crabtree, Lotta, 291, 376, 390
 Crawford, Secretary of War, 148, 164
 Crescent City Bay, 334
 Crespi, Father Juan, 211, 212
 Criminal Practice Act, 41, 42, 64, 375, 389
 Crittenden, John J., Senator, 273, 288, 290; resolutions of, 275
 Crocker, Charles, Dry Goods Store, 273, 288
 Cullen, G. P., killed by Pacey, 359, 368
 Cunningham, Lewis, 165, 189, 394
 Currey, John, 78, 192, 197
 Curtis, N. Green, 296
 Cutler, Rev. R. P., 295
 Dana, Richard Henry, 3
 Dana's Ranch at Nipomo, 354
 Dane, George Ezra, address, "New Strikes in Old Diggings," 413
 Darwin, mining town, 393
 Dashaway Association, 57, 77, 276, 379; Hall, 276, 377, 378
 Davis, Isaac, of Yolo, 296
 Davis, Jefferson, 226, 297
 Dawson House, Sacramento, 64
 Day, Captain Hannibal, 192
 Dayton, Senator, of New Jersey, 228
 Deaf, dumb, and blind, school for, San Francisco, 276, 289, 373
 Declaration of Rights of Calif. Constitution and signatures, facing, 159
 de la Guerra, Pablo, 254, 271, 286, 372
 de la Guerra y Noriega, José, 286
 Delmas, Mrs. Delphin (Pauline Hoge), 269, 295
 De Long, Charles E., *Journals of*, edited by Carl I. Wheat, 40-78, 165-201, 245-97, 355-95; portraits, facing 245, 378; elected senator, 258; Masonic history, 263; Union speech, 274, 289; candidate for Congress, 284; speech at Platt's Hall, 285; resolutions supporting Union, 287; address at State Fair, 361, 370; buys Walsworth house, 361, 370; marries Elida Vineyard, 379; nominated for senator, 383; St. Patrick's Day speech, 390; Minister to Japan, 372
 De Long, James R., 253, 265, 385, 395
 Democratic party, State Central Committee, 281, 295; Union State Convention, 367; *see also* Breckinridge, Douglas, and Lecompton
 Dent, Lewis, 153

- Denver, Gen. James W., 167, 191, 257, 268, 274
 Deseados (Flattery Rocks), 324
 Deserts, southwestern, 87; *see also* Colorado and Mojave
 Destruction Island, 325
 Devine, P. J., Sacramento sculptor, 270
 Diaz, Manuel, Alcalde of Monterey, 103
 Diligencias, Cabo (Orford Head), 329, 335
 Dillon, Charles, tragedian, 376, 389
 Division of the State, 51, 74, 151
 Dobbins, Captain M. D., 181, 200, 369, 372, 387
 Dogtown, 251, 264
 Dolores, Isla de los (Destruction Island), 325
 Donner Lake, 348, 349, 350, 351
 Donner Party, 354; map showing route, 346; **The Donner Party and Relief Hill**, W. W. Waggoner, 347-352
 Donohue, Peter, 292, 376, 389
 Dorr, Ebenezer, 320
 Doty, of Wisconsin, 223
 Dougherty, Lewis Bissell, 202
 Douglas, Sir James, 203
 Douglas, Stephen A., 21, 140, 141, 177, 185, 199, 221, 222, 225, 227, 229, 231, 234, 236, 247, 251, 252, 268, 285, 297
 Douglas Channel, British Columbia, 313
 Douglas Democrats, 40, 41, 194, 258, 264, 267; Yuba county convention, 254; caucus, 290
 Downey, Miss Annie, 277, 292, 389
 Downey, Gov. John G., 78, 254, 260, 277, 280, 286, 292, 295, 355, 360, 375
 Downieville, 61, 73, 78
 Doyle, John T., 391
 Drake, Sir Francis, probably at Bodega Bay, 337
 Drew, John, 42, 63
 Duncan & Co. (Joseph C.), auctioneers, 282, 295
 Duncombe, Charles, 42, 43, 47, 48, 49, 63, 69
 Dunlap, Boutwell, **In Memoriam**, 95
 Dunn, Francis J., attorney, 385, 395
 Dunn, Julia Payne, 190
 "Dutch Bill," *see* Winkley
 Eagleville, 171, 194
 Earp, Wyatt, 410
 Earthquake, 247, 304
 Eberstadt, Edward, **The Journal of Riley Root**, 396-405
 Eclipse, 252
 Eddy, W. H., 349
 Edgerton, Henry A., 272, 273, 274, 287, 288, 289, 296, 355, 357, 368
 Edwin, Miss Sophie, 376, 389
 Eliza, Francisco de, 337, 340; Expedition of, 313-36
 Elliott, S. G., map of Calif. mentioned, 347
 Ellison, Joseph, **The Struggle for Civil Government in California, 1846-50**, 3-26, 129-64, 220-44
 Empire Ranch, 192, 370
 Episcopal Church, *see* Grace Episcopal
 Escalante's explorations, 27
 Esmeralda mining district, 261
 Estudillo, José Joaquin, 73
 Estudillo House, San Leandro, 73
 Eureka fire company, Marysville, 250, 258, 264, 285
 Evans, George, orchestra leader, 201
 Ewer, F. C., pastor Grace Church, 290
 Exchange Hotel, *see* American Exchange
 Ezeta, *see* Hezeta
 Ezeta, Boca de, 327; Entrada de (Columbia R.), 326
 Fages, Pedro, in San Joaquin Valley, 1776, 211-19; map showing route, facing 211; extracts from diary of, 1772, 218-19
 Fairfax, Charles S., 44, 395
 Fall, John C., 42, 64, 66, 181, 258, 264, 269; failure of, 362
 Farquhar, Francis P., obituary of George W. Stewart, 309-10
 Feather River, 189
 Feather River Bridge leased by De Long, 361, 362
 Ferguson, William I., 268
 Fernandez de Navarrete, Martin, 319
 Field, Stephen J., 47, 53, 199, 264, 295; portrait facing 3; review of biography by Swisher, 85
 Fillmore, President Millard, 238
 Findlay, Tom, 286, 297
 Fire companies: Benicia, Phoenix Engine Co., 285; Marysville, 196, 199, 200, 258, 362, 382, *see also* Eureka's and Warren Engine Co.; San Francisco, 263, 297, 381, 393, *see also* Howard Engine Co.; Sacramento, Confidence Engine Co., 285, 290; Stockton, San Joaquin Engine Co., 45, 68; Timbuctoo, 251, 253, 258, 265, view of, facing 252
First Mail Contract in California, The, Douglas S. Watson, 353-54, facsimile, facing 353
 Fitzpatrick, Thomas, 203
 Fletcher, Francis, Drake's chaplain, 337
 Flood, Sacramento and American rivers, 279, 293, 364, 366, 371, 373, 387
 Flores, José M., 123, 126, 128
 Folsom, 43, 280, 293
 Folsom, Capt. Joseph L., 132, 293
 Fonte, Strait of, 313, 314
 Foote, Senator, of Mississippi, 221, 224; Foote's Resolution, 225-29
 Forbes, James Alexander, British vice-consul, 5; his connection with California events of 1846, 99-128
 Forbes, Mrs. W. C., actress, 356, 367
 Forbestown, 171, 359
 Foreman, Ferris, elected Boundary Commissioner, 278, 292
 Forman's, Colonel Charles, 4th Reg. California Volunteers, 393
 Fort Boyce, on Snake River, 400
 Fort Laramie, 400
 Fort Sumter, news of fall of, 280, 293

- Fort Waters, 401
 Foster's Bar, 56, 170, 394
 Foster's Bar Bridge property, 181, 182
 Foulweather, Cabo, 328
 Fourgeaud, Dr. Victor J., 299
 Fraser River, 303
 Freeman's Crossing, 171, 194
 Frémont, John C., 10, 15, 18, 36, 37, 76, 100, 102-11, 114, 118, 121, 127, 164, 200, 203, 225, 238, 353; correspondence with Larkin, 103-4; with Montgomery, 108-10
 French, A. H., 199, 200, 246, 260, 358, 360, 369
 French, Dr. Darwin, 261
 Frenchtown, 54, 77
 Fuentes, Andres, 37
 Fur trade, 204, 315, 316, 400, 409, 411
 Galena Hill, 56, 171
 Galiano, Dionisio Alcalá, 313, 315, 321
 Gallagher, Senator P. A., 374, 388
 Gambling in the mines, 404
 Garber, John, 248, 262
 Garces, Fray Francisco, 27, 211, 213, 216; map of route facing 211
 Garoutte, Miss Eudora, 307
 Gem Saloon, Marysville, 246, 259
 General Grant National Park, 310
 George, Henry, 89
 Gibson, Captain, at Bodega Bay, 338
 Gilbert, Edward, 152, 153, 163, 238
 Gilbert's Melodeon, 281, 294, 376, 390
 Gillespie, Lt. A. H., 107, 108, 111, 114, 121
 Gillis, James L., 76, 411
 Glover, Aquila, journal quoted, 352
 Glover, J. T., 190, 288
 Glover, Octavine Payne (Mrs. J. T.), 190, 286
 Godey, Alexis, 37
 Gold, discovered 1842, 86; first news of 1848 discovery, 298-301; effect of news, 403
 Golden Eagle Hotel, Sacramento, 261, 373
 Goodwin, Jesse O., 72, 198, 251, 252, 358, 359
 Gordon, Alexander, 390
 Gorham, George C., 64, 198, 284, 285, 294, 296, 384
 Gougenheim sisters, Josephine and Adelaide, 358, 368
 Goycochea, Felipe, sent to Bodega from Santa Barbara, 338, 340; diary of, 342-345
 Grace Episcopal Church, Sacramento, 64; festival, 273, 288
 Grace Episcopal Church, San Francisco, 276, 290; new cathedral cornerstone laid, 290
 Graham, Isaac, 5
 Graham's Ranch, 169, 192
 Graniteville, 347, 348, 349
 Grapevine Canyon (Las Uvas), 214, 215, 218
 Gray, Rev. F. T., 295
 Gray, Robert, 317, 321
 Gray's Harbor, 319, 321, 323, 324, 333
 Greeley, Horace, 172, 173, 194
 Green, Benjamin, U. S. Chargé in Mexico, 1844, 6
 Greenville House, Oregon Hill, 256
 Gregg, Josiah, discoverer of Humboldt Bay, 202, 203
 Gregory, Cabo, 329
 Grenville Channel, British Columbia, 313
 Griffith, Humphrey, 254, 266
 Guerrero, Francisco, 99; letter to Forbes, 102
 Gwin, Wm. M., 53, 61, 66, 75, 147, 155, 156, 158, 159, 164, 167, 192, 193, 222, 225, 238, 255, 277, 291
 Gymnastic School, A. H. French's, Marysville, 182, 199, 200, 260
 Halleck, H. W., 131, 135, 154, 155, 156, 158, 160, 162
 Hamilton, Col. William S., 204
 Hammond, R. P., 255, 267
 Hanlon Troupe, 382, 394
 Hansonville, 257, 268, 358
 Hardy, Judge James H., impeachment of, 380, 381, 393
 Harrington, Rev. Joseph, 295
 Hartnell, Wm. E., 103, 104, 112
 Harvey, Senator Obed, 272, 287
 Haskell, Leonidas, 197
 Harvey, Major Walter H., 292, 358
 Hastings, Lansford W., 6, 7, 153, 155, 304
 "Hasting's Cutoff," 348
 Hatch, Col. Francis L., 168, 252, 368, 369
 Haun, Henry P., 250, 263
 Hayes, Kate, 68, 86
 Hayes, Thomas, 297
 Hayes Park and Pavilion, 285, 297, 374, 377, 388, 390
 Hayes Valley, 297
 Hayne, Julia Dean, 274, 275, 283, 289
 Hays, Jenny Vineyard (Mrs. R. T.), 63
 Heath's Gallery, Marysville, 178, 200
 Hebrew Benevolent Society, Marysville, 182, 200
 Hell's Hill, 171, 194
 Henness Pass, 348, 350
Herald of the Gold Rush—Sam Brannan
 Douglas S. Watson, 298-301
 Herrera, President, 111
 Hetch Hetchy, 204
 Hewes, David, 392
 Hewlett, Cleora M. Whitney, **In Memoriam**, 95
 Heywood's Building, Sacramento, 271, 286
 Hezeta, Bruno de, 321; expedition, 325
 Hickok, Wild Bill, 409
 Hide trade, 3
 Hiffert, Miss Carrie, 70
 Hill, Senator John H., 273, 274, 288
 Hitchcock, Ethan Allen, 410
 Hite, Levi, 170, 193
 Hock Farm, 177, 199
 Hoge, Joseph P., 266, 269, 281, 295, 367, 393
 Hoge, Mary, 281, 378
 Hoge, Pauline, 258, 269, 276, 279, 281, 295

- Holden, Senator William, 375, 388
 Holman, Alfred, *In Memoriam*, 96
 Homestead bill, 52, 75
 Honcut, 172, 173, 194
 Honcut House, 172, 194; North, 356
 Hoppe, J. D., 152, 155
 Hotel Du Nord, Marysville, 285
 Horse racing, 176, 198, 251, 264, 296, 361, 414
 Howard Benevolent Society, 292
 Howard, W. D. M., 301
 Howard Engine Co., San Francisco, 77, 263, 381, 382
 Howe, Mary and Fanny, 277, 291
 Howell, John, address, "The First Printing in California," 206
 Hudson's Bay Company, 411
 Hughes Lake, 211, 215, 218
 Humboldt Bay region, 87
 Humbug Creek, 350
 Hurdy Gurdy girl, 256, 267
 Ide, William B., 10, 11, 101, 105, 113, 115; proclamation, 112
 Immigration into California, organized, 4-8; by southern route, 33-39; Norwegian, 86
 Imperial Valley, 214, 216
 Indians, 37; Hopi, 411; Klamath, 412; Makahs, 323; Miwok, 345; Modoc war, 202, Navajo, 87; Noches Colteches, 218, 409; Oustomahs, 348; Pawnee, 399; Pomo, 337; Sac Mission School, Iowa, 398; Sioux, 399; Yokut, 309; of Bodega Bay region, 331, 342-45; of Nevada County, 348; of Northern coast, 323, 324, 326, 327; of San Joaquin Valley, 213, 215, 219, 309; of Santa Barbara coast, 302; of Tahoe region, 348; near Trinidad, 335-36
 Indian Springs, 348, 349, 351
 Indian Villages: Tulamni (Buena Vista), 213, 215, 219; Wogitiu, 219
 Indian war, 49, 71; massacre, 249; Modoc war, 202
 Indiana Ranch, 57, 172
 Inebriates, home for, San Francisco, 291
In Memoriam: Boutwell Dunlap, 95; Cleora M. Whitney Hewlett, 95; Alfred Holman, 96; Lillie B. Matson, 96; George W. Stewart, 309; Edith Pillsbury Bliss, 414; Andrew J. Molera, 414
 Insane Asylum, State, Stockton, 43, 44, 65, 67; physicians chosen, 279; move to create branch at Marysville, 49, 50, 71
In the South San Joaquin ahead of Garces, Herbert E. Bolton, 211-19
 International Hotel, San Francisco, 67, 197, 293
 Inverness, 342; ridge, 339, 343
 Irwin, Senator Richard, 289, 355, 356, 367
 Jackson, Andrew, 8
 Jackson, David, 4, 28
 Jefferson, Thomas, 3
 Jenny Lind Melodeon, San Francisco, 381, 393; Theater, 389
 Jewett, J. H., 166, 191
 Johnson, William Neely, 76
 Johnson's Rancho on Bear River, 347, 348, 349, 352
 Johnston, George Pen, 257, 268
 Jones, Miss Avonia, 57, 74, 77
 Jones, J. M., 152, 156, 158
 Jones, Thomas Ap Catesby, 8, 132, 202
 Jones' Bar, 348
 Jordan, David Starr, 87
 Joshua trees, 215
Journal of Riley Root, The, Edward Eberstadt, 396-405
 Juan de Fuca, Strait of, 314, 315, 317, 332; voyage to San Francisco from, 324-32
 Judah, Theodore D., 293, 306
 Juncosa, Father, 216, 217
 Junta, April 4, 1840, 8
 Kearny, Stephen W., 13, 15, 18, 19, 22, 123, 237, 354
 Kemble, E. C., 299
 Kendrick, Juan, 318
 Kennedy, James F., 78
 Kern, Edward M., 353
 Kern River Company, 393
 Kewen, E. J. C., 256, 267, 296
 King, Senator, of Alabama, 224
 King, George, 188
 King, Thomas Butler, 147
 King, Thomas Starr, 282, 295, 303; lecture on Washington, 278, 292; on the Union, 284, 296; address at Northern District Fair, 360, 369
 Knight, "Captain" William, 68
 Knights Ferry, 45, 68
 Knowland, J. R., obituary of Alfred Holman, 96
 Kungle's (C. H.) Resolution for recognizing Confederacy, 282, 296
 Labatt, Henry, 377, 290; compiler of Digest of Cal. Reports, 390
 Lagunitas Creek, 339, 343
 Lake House, 277
 Lander County, Nevada, 394
 Lander's Bar, 173
 Larkin, Thomas O., 8, 100, 103, 104, 107, 121, 304, 409, 414; letter to Diaz, 103
 Larue, James B., 72
 Lassiter, Jim, 258, 358
Last Spanish Exploration of the Northwest Coast and the Attempt to Colonize Bodega Bay, H. R. Wagner, 313-45
 Lasvignes, Dr., drills Zouaves, 360
 Latham, Milton S., 60, 78, 166, 167, 168, 192, 207, 246, 260, 282, 283, 295, 296, 383, 384, 394
 Lathrop, Anna Maria (Mrs. David Hewes), 392
 Laurel Hill Cemetery, 293
 Law in the mines, 404
 Lawrence, Eleanor, 89; **Mexican Trade Between Santa Fé and Los Angeles,** 1830-48, 27-39

- Lawrence, Mrs. Mary Tingley, excerpt from memoirs of, 392
- Lecompton and Anti-Lecompton factions, 40, 60, 62, 66, 69, 72, 76, 77, 78, 168, 173, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 197, 261
- Le Conte, Joseph, 89
- Lee, Harvey, 199, 368
- Lee, H. C., circus man, 368
- Leese, Jacob Primer, 203
- Legislative Ball, 1859, 48, 70; program facing, 48
- Leighton, Mrs. William H., actress, 364, 365, 371, 378, 379, 386, 392
- Leman, Walter M., 77, 393
- Leonard, A. T., Jr., obituaries of Lillie B. Matson, 96; Andrew J. Molera, 414
- Lewis, Colonel E. J., 49, 71
- Lincoln, Abraham, 257, 258, 268, 371
- Lindley, Hon. Charles, 63
- Linthicum, J. F., 177, 252, 265
- Lockwood, R. A., 191
- Loeser, Lieutenant, 301
- Lofton's, Squire, on Bear River, 183, 200
- London, Jack, 408
- Lone Mountain Cemetery, 266, 279, 293
- Long Bar, 168, 173, 254, 255, 358
- Los Angeles, 87, 89, 406, 409, 412
- Lucout, Cabo, 328
- Lugo, José del Carmen, 89
- Lyman, Dr., Calif. immigrant of 1842, 35
- Lyon, W. Parker, 99
- Lyster, W. S., opera company of, 201, 265
- McAllister, C., 390
- McCarver, M. M., 152, 155, 156
- McConnell, John R., 248, 262, 358, 368
- McCorkle, Joseph W., 61, 165, 167, 255, 267, 355
- McCutcheon, William, 348, 350
- McDonald, Mrs. Estelle, 55, 77
- McDonald, James B., 265
- McDougal, Governor John, 50, 73, 77, 197
- McDougall, James A., 70, 255, 267, 274, 275, 277, 278, 282, 290; elected senator, 279, 292
- McFarland, Thomas B., 247, 261, 262, 365
- McKibben, Joseph C., 60, 77, 78, 165, 190, 191, 195, 197, 278, 292, 296, 355
- McKinstry, George, letter to Kern quoted, 352
- McNamara, Eugene, 117, 118
- McQuaid, J. C., 181, 200, 360
- McQuaid, John A., 63, 168, 171, 281, 294, 359, 367, 368, 369
- McQuinn, J., attempts to kill DeLong, 365
- Magruder, Loyd, 253
- Maguire, Tom, 74, 200
- Maguire's Opera House, 376, 389, 393
- Mail Contract in California, The First**, Douglas S. Watson, 353-54; facsimile facing, 353
- Mail, southern overland, 86; first contract in Calif., 353-54
- Mal Arrimo (Willipa Bay), 326
- Malaspina, Alejandro, 313, 314, 321
- Maldonado, José, 317
- Mandeville, Alice, 51, 75
- Mandeville, James, 170, 193
- Maps: The Old Spanish Trail, facing 27; Anza's Route along the Santa Barbara Channel, facing 211; Sketch map of Buena Vista, facing 216; Martínez y Zayas' map of the Northwest Coast, 1793, facing 313; Bodega and Tomales Bays, facing 337; Route of Donner Party, 346
- Marcy, Wm. L., Secretary of War, 13, 137, 138, 147
- Marques, Punta de (Chetco Point), 329
- Marsh, Dr. John, 7, 31
- Marsh juvenile troupe, 250, 262-63
- Marshall, Edward C., 267
- Marshall, James W., 299, 368, 408
- Marshall, J. R., circus man, 357, 368
- Marston, Capt. Ward, 125, 126; orders from Capt. Mervine, 124
- Martin, Edward J., 292
- Martin, Eleanor Downey, 292
- Martin the Wizard, 45, 68
- Martinetti Ravel Troupe, 273, 281, 288
- Martínez, Santiago, 36
- Martínez y Zayas, Juan, 317, 340; expedition of, 315-33; given command of *Mexicana*, 315, 317; makes map of coast, 319; account of voyage, 321-32
- Martires, Ensenada de los, 325
- Marysville, 173, 176, 257, 353, 355, 372; flood at, 364-66, 371; fire department, 196, 199, *see also* Warren Engine Co.; Gymnasium, 199, 260; Park, 264; slough (Ellis Lake), 382, 394
- Marysville Buttes, 184, 200, 382
- Marysville Rifles, 249, 262, 280, 283, 286, 294, 355, 369, 387; armory of, 284
- Mason, J. Y., Secretary of the Navy, 19, 129, 130-31
- Mason, Col. R. B., 22-23, 24, 25, 26, 145, 129, 130, 137, 138, 144, 145, 301
- Masonic order, De Long's membership in, 250, 251, 253, 254, 255, 256, 258, 263, 266, 273, 279, 292, 386; cornerstone of State Capitol laid by, 282, 295
- Matson, Lillie B., **In Memoriam**, 96
- Matson, Captain William, 96
- Matute, Juan Bautista, 331, 334, 338, 343; letter concerning Bodega Bay, 339-341
- May, Hattie, 276, 279, 281
- Mayne, Charles, 389
- Medicine and surgery, 86
- Meetings of the Society**, 91-94, 206-7, 307, 413
- Melodeons: Sacramento, 274, 279, 281, 361, Marshall's, 289, Wells', 289; San Francisco, Gilbert's, 281, 294, 376; Jenny Lind, 381, 393
- Meloney, A. R., State Controller, 74
- Mendocino, Cabo, 330, 335
- Menzies, Archibald, at Bodega Bay, 338

- Merchants Exchange Building, San Francisco, 374, 388
 Merchants Hotel, Marysville, 61, 261; collapsed in flood, 364, 371
 Merriam, C. Hart, naturalist, 302
 Merritt, Senator, of Virginia, 273, 288
 Mervine, Capt. Wm., 125, 126, 127; orders to Marston, 124
 Mesick, Richard S., 285, 358, 359
 Methodist Church South, camp meeting, 1861, 359
 Metropolitan Hotel, San Francisco, 50, 72, 276, 285
 Metropolitan Theater, Sacramento, 51, 74; San Francisco, 277, 371, 381, 388, 389, 393
 Mexican Government declares war, 1846, 111
Mexican Trade between Santa Fe and Los Angeles, 1830-1848, Eleanor Lawrence, 27-39
 Military companies: 181, 200; California Guards, 198; California Volunteers, 372, 387, 393; Coloma Grays, 198; Downey Guards, 277; Knight's Ferry Dragoons, 198; Marion Rifles, 198; National Guards, 198; Placer Rifles, 198; Sacramento City Guard, 198, 295; Sacramento Hussars, 295; Stockton Blues, 198; Sutter Rifles, 69, 198; Turn-Verein Guards, 198; Union Guard, 296; Yuba County Cavalry, 360, 369; encampment near Sacramento, 1859, 176, 198. *See also* Marysville Rifles
 Militia Bill, 46, 69
 Miller, Henry, 204
 Miller, Joaquin (Cincinnatus Hiner), 89
 Miller, Juanita, address on Joaquin Miller, 307
 Mills College, 410
 Mineral Resolution, Pixley's, 49, 71
 Mint, U. S., San Francisco branch, 281, 294
 Missions: San Francisco de Asis (Dolores), 293; San Gabriel, 214, 216, 217; San Luis Rey, 87; Santa Inez, 412
 Missouri Compromise, 223, 235
 Missroon, Lt. J. S., 113, 115, 353
 Mob Bill, 50, 73
 Mojave Desert, 27, 87, 214, 216, 217, 218
 Molera, Andrew J., *In Memoriam*, 414
 Mono Lake mineral district, 247, 261
 Monterey, 80, 90, 139, 146, 150, 151, 161, 304, 314, 320
 Montgomery, Capt. John B., 11, 107, 114, 353; letter to Castro, 105-6; correspondence with Frémont, 108-10
 Montgomery, Zack, 165, 190, 248, 252, 261, 282
 Montgomery Block, 295, 393
 Mooney, Thomas, of Empire Ranch, 362, 370
 Moore, Thomas, 320
 Moore, Lieutenant, 201
 Morant, Miss Fannie, 75
 Moreno, José, Pio Pico's secretary, 112, 113, 115
 Mormons, 8, 88, 155, 298, 301, 398, 400, 408, 410, 411
 Morrison, Murray, 282, 296
 Mott, Judge Gordon N., 395
 Mountain Lake Water Bill, 378, 391
 Mule Springs, 350
 Munson, Miss M. (clairvoyant), 246, 260
 Murieta, Joaquin, 86
 Mutual Benevolent Society, Sacramento, 41, 63
 Napier, W. K., 359, 368
 Nash, Alcalde, of Sonoma, 23
 National Exchange Hotel, Nevada City, 384, 394
 National Theater, Sacramento, 368
 Nauvoo, Ill., 398
 Navarrete, *see* Fernandez de Navarrete
 Negro Bar, 293
 Nelsons, theatrical family, 178, 179, 200
 Nesmith, James W., 254, 266
 Nevada City, 249, 351, 384-85
 Nevett's, Mrs. S. F., Sacramento, 277, 292
 New Almaden Quicksilver Mine case, 191
 New Helvetia, *see* Sutter's Fort
 New Mecklenburg, on Feather R., 353
New Members, 94, 208, 308, 412
 New Mexico Civil Government, 20-21, 224
 New York Flat, 57, 171
 Newhall, H. M., 389
 Newspapers: *Californian*, 16, 24, 26, 299; *California Police Gazette*, 175; *California Star*, 16, 17, 18, 23, 25, 298, 299-301; *Star-Californian*, 138; *Honolulu Saturday Press*, 309; *Marysville Daily Appeal*, 296, *Express*, 177, 199, 265, 266, *Herald*, 394; *National Democrat*, 192, 194, 195, 197, 266, 296; *Nevada City Gazette*, 394; *New York Herald*, 298, 300; *North San Juan Press*, 394; *North San Juan Star*, 395; *Oregon Pacific News*, 240, 241, 303; *Oregon Spectator*, 403; *Placer Times*, 148; *Nevada City Transcript and Times*, 394; *Sacramento Daily Register*, 41, 63; *Sacramento Transcript*, 239, 241, 242; *San Francisco Alta California*, 139, 143, 145, 146, 147, 148, 163, 240, 241; *San Francisco Evening Picayune*, 241, *Examiner*, 268, *Firemen's Journal and Spirit of the Times*, 68; *San Joaquin Valley Resources*, 309; *Visalia Delta*, 309; *Mining & Scientific Press*, 309
 Nicaragua, 44, 65, 267
 Nootka, 314, 317, 320, 337; Nootka Sound Convention, 314
 North Bloomfield, 347, 350, 351
 North Pacific Railroad, 389
 North San Juan, 348, 394
 Northern District Fair, Marysville, 194, 360, 369
 Norwegian migration to California, 86, 302
 Nugent, John, 255, 266, 274, 277, 290
 Nuñez Gaona, Puerto de, 323

- Nye, Governor of Nevada Territory, 360, 361, 369, 377, 390
 Nye's Ranch, 78
 Oakland, 50, 73
 Oakland and San Antonio Steam Navigation Co., 72
 Oakland and San Francisco Railroad and Ferry Line, 72
 Ocean House, San Francisco, 276
 Odd Fellows, Independent order of, 54, 76, 250, 252, 280, 359; Hall, Marysville, 252, 265, 293
 Ohio Flat, 171
 O'Keefe, the Misses, singers, 374, 377, 379, 388, 390
 Olema, 338, 342
 Omnibus bill, 230, 236
 Omnibus Street Railroad Co., San Francisco, 389
 Opera companies, Lyster's Italian and English, 201, 253, 265; New Orleans English Opera Troupe, 195, 196
 Oregon, Riley Root's description of, 1848, 402-3
 Oregon Hill, 56, 170, 256, 359
 Oregon House, Yuba County, 59, 77
 Orford Head, 329
 Orleans Hotel, Sacramento, 40, 61, 193, 271, 355, 356
 Ormsby, Major William M., killed by Indians at Washoe, 249, 262
 Oroville, 251, 356, 383; courthouse, 368
 Orphan asylums, San Francisco, 275, 291
 Owens River mineral district, 261
 Pacey, E. H., kills Cullen, 359, 368
 Pacific republic, 6, 258, 268, 288, 289
 Palmer, Charles T. H., 91
 Palmer, J. C., 247, 261
 Palomares, 36
 Palou, Francisco, 211, 293
 Panoramas: 360, Perry's European, 165, 189; Tirrell & Co.'s California, 250, 263; Panthechnaethca, 363, 371; Smith's Scenorama, 174, 196
 Parker, Miss Lizzie, singer, 377, 390
 Parks Bar, 58, 249
 Paterna, Father, 217
 Pattie, James Ohio, 4, 81, 88
 Pattie, Sylvester, 4
 Paullin, Louise, entertainer, 268, 393
 Paullin troupe, 258, 268
 Pavilion, Marysville, 172, 194, 360
 Pavilion, Sacramento, 196, 275, 288, 290
 Payne, Julia, *see* Dunn
 Payne, Octavine C., *see* Glover
 Payne's Ranch (Sixteen Mile House), 254, 266
 Pelton, John C., reform school supt., 288
 Peoria House, 366
 Peri's, Marysville, 252, 262, 265
 Perrin (Ervin R.) House, Sacramento, 291
 Perry, H. A., actor, 360, 369
 Phelan, James D., 307
 Pickersgill, Bob, 179
 Pickett's, Charles E., petition for capitol removal, 391
 Pico, Governor Pio, 86, 99, 100, 101, 111, 116, 117, 127; letters to Forbes, 1846, 114-16, reproduced, facing 116
 Pierce, Hiram Dwight, 89
 Pixley, Frank M., 42, 49, 50, 64, 65, 67, 96, 375, 381
 Pixley, Seymour, of San Leandro, 50, 73
 Platt's Music Hall, San Francisco, 285, 297
 Point Adams (Cabo Frondoso), 327
 Point Arena, 330
 Point Gorda, 330
 Point Grenville, 325
 Point St. George, 329
 Polk, President James K., 8, 20, 25, 121, 137, 140, 301
 Pony Express, 89, 262, 281, 293, 294
 Portsmouth Square, San Francisco, 147, 198, 240, 354
 Post Office, first in San Francisco, 354
 Poston's, Mrs. E. C., school, Marysville, 251, 264
 Powell, H. M. T., *Journal of*, reviewed, 406
 Presbyterian Church in California, 412; Marysville, 176, 178, 185, 198; San Francisco, 293
 Preston, Representative from Virginia, 142
 Price, Rodman M., 156
 Prices at the diggings, 404
 Priestly, Herbert I., address, "The Californian and His History," 206
 Proclamations: Castro's of Aug. 9, '46, 123; Ide's Bear Flag, 10, 105, 112; Fremont's of Jan. 22, '47, 18; Kearny's, 123, of Mar. 1, '47, 19; Mason's of May 31, '47, 22; Riley's of Oct. 12, '49, 131; Thanksgiving Day '49, 135; Constitutional Convention, 146; Ratification of Constitution, 154; resigning authority, 162; Sloat's, 12, 101; Stockton's of Aug. 17, '46, 14
 Prosser Creek, 348
 Puerto Grek, *see* Gray's Harbor
 Puerto Nuevo (Tomaes Bay), 340, 341
 Puerto de San Juan, 323
 Puget, Peter, at Bodega Bay, 338
 Punta Clara, 330
 Punta de Lavastida (Pt. Grenville), 325
 Punta Delgada, 330, 335
 Quail Lake, 214
 Quint, Leander, of Tuolumne, 355, 377, 390
 Quintano, Francisco Estevan, 35
 Rabel's Tannery, Sacramento, 371, 374, 388
 Rackerby (Hansonville), 268
 Railroad Bills, 279, 292, 381, 393
 Railroad Hill, 171, 256
 Rainfall in Calif. since 1769, 304
 Ramirez, J. M., 198
 Ramm's Ranch, 193
 Randolph, Edmund, 166, 191, 271, 272, 274, 275, 287, 288, 290; portrait facing 188
 Rasette House, 72
 Reading, Pierson Barton, 90

- Reardon, Judge T. B., 252, 254, 255, 266, 273, 285, 395
 Reardon, Mrs. T. B., 365
 Rebeccas, 252, 280
 Redding, B. B., 75, 191
 Redington, General Alfred, 53, 78, 191
 Reed, James F., 349, 350, 351
 Reese River, Nevada, 383, 394
 Reform School, San Francisco, 276, 388;
 see also State Reform School
 Relief Hill, 347, 348, 349, 351
 Report: Secretary and Treasurer's, 92-94
 Republicans, 168, 257, 258, 272, 360, 372, 384; County Convention, 1859, 165
 Revere, Joseph Warren, note quoted, 354
 Reviews and Notices, 84-85, 205, 406-7
 Revilla Gigedo, Conde de, 314, 320, 321, 333
 Rhodes, William H., 255, 265, 266
 Rideout, Samuel, 189
 Ridge, John R., 173, 192, 195, 296, 367
 Riley, Brig. Gen. Bennett, 148, 159, 160, 161, 163, 231; proclamation of Oct. 12, '49, 131; Thanksgiving proclamation, 135; calls Constitutional Convention, 145-46, 147; proclamation of Dec. 12, '49, 154;
 Robidoux, Antoine, 5, 88
 Robidoux, Louise, 37
 Robinson, Edgar E., address, "Milton S. Latham," 206-7
 Roney, Frank, 409
 Root, Riley, *The Journal of*, Edward Eberstadt, 396-405
 Rough and Ready, road through, 348
 Round Tent, 169, 192
 Rowe, Gen. George, 174, 196, 201
 Rowland, John, 33, 34, 36
 proclamation of Dec. 20, '49, 162
 Russ Gardens, San Francisco, 291
 Russ House, San Francisco, 372, 379, 391
 Russians, 80, 408
 Rust, Col. R. C., duel with Stidger, 395
 Sacramento, Broderick meeting at, 1859, 193; flood of 1861-62, 293, 364, 366, 371, 373, 387
 Sacramento and Yuba Railroad, 393
 Sacramento Theater, 41, 368
 Sacramento Valley Railroad, 293
 Safe Deposit Co. of San Francisco, 295
 St. George Hotel, Sacramento, 42, 64; in flood, 364
 St. Josephs to Oregon, Riley Root's travels, 398-402
 St. Nicholas Hotel, Marysville, 173, 252, 257, 259, 264, 359, 369
 St. Patrick's Day Celebration, San Francisco, 1862, 390
 Salazar, José Antonio, 31, 32
 Salazar, Thomas, 36
 Salt, found near Sacramento R., 300
 Salvatierra, Juan Maria, 204
 San Antonio, Texas, 302
 San Bernardino, 35, 217
 San Blas, voyage of Zayas from, to Juan de Fuca, 322-24; return to, 332; Eliza returns to, 336; Colnett sails from, 337
 Sanchez, Francisco, revolt, 100, 123-26, 128
 Sand Flat, 168, 192
 San Diego, 214, 217, 335
 San Dimas, Punta de (Cape Sebastian), 329
 San Francisco, 138; municipal govt. of, 81, 143-45; in '49, 403, 405; in 1861, 291; Mint, 281, 294; South Park, 67; first post office, 354
 San Francisco Bay, 340, 341, 342, 345; Fages and Crespi reach, 212
 San Francisco Industrial School, 373, 388
 San Francisco River, *see* San Joaquin
 San Francisco and San Jose Railroad, 389
 San Gabriel, 214, 216, 217
 Sanitary Commission, 295
 San Jacinto Mountains, 214, 217; Valley, 214, 215
 San Joaquin River, 211, 212
 San Joaquin Valley, Pedro Fages in, 1772, 211-19; *In the South San Joaquin Ahead of Garces*, H. E. Bolton, 211-19
 San Jose, 124, 138, 139, 148, 164, 358; Parks, 368
 San Juan, Puerto de, 323
 San Juan Francisco, Puerto de (Tamales Bay), 334, 342, 345
 San Juan Ridge, Nevada Co., 347, 351
 San Leandro, 50, 73
 San Luis Obispo, 211, 212, 214, 216, 217, 218
 San Quentin, *see* State Prison
 San Roque, Cabo (Cape Disappointment), 326, 327
 San Sebastian (Harper's Well), 216; Rio de (Tamales Bay), 337; Cabo (Pt. St. George), 329, 330, 334
 Santa Anna, President, 9
 Santa Clara, 105; engagement bet. Californians and Americans, 1847, 124
 Santa Cruz, 139
 Santa Fe, 89, 306, 408
 Santa Fe trails, 89, 303, 306, 406, 410; Mexican trade on, 27-39; map facing, 27; Powell's Journal, reviewed, 406
 Santa Maria de la Luz, Cabo de (Tillamook Head), 328
 Santi-Esteban, Antonio, 28
 Sausalito, Goycochea at, 1793, 338
 Sayas, Juan de, *see* Martinez y Zayas
 Schenck, Captain James F., 389
 Scott, Rev. W. A., 279, 293
 Searles, Judge Niles, 248, 261
 Sebastian, Cape, 329
 Secessionist meeting, 357, 358, 368
 Seddon, Representative from Virginia, 222
 Semple, Dr. Robert, 16, 151, 152, 299
 Seneca House, 171, 194
 Sequoia National Park, 309, 310
 Serra, Junipero, statute in Hall of Fame, 295
 Seward, W. H., 226, 227
 Sewell's (Newton) Ranch, 172, 194, 256
 Sexton, Judge Warren T., 165, 189
 Seymour, R. Admiral, 116, 117, 128; letter to Forbes, 118-19

- Seymour Ranch on Feather River, 55, 76
 Shafter, James M., 387
 Shannon, William E., of Sacramento, 151, 152
 Shattuck, D. O., 357
 Sheldon, Deacon, 360
 Sherman, Lieutenant W. T., 23
 Sherwood, James B., 157, 173, 196
 Shields, Gen., 282, 284, 296
 Shubrick, Commodore Wm. B., 18, 19, 25
 Sierra Nevada Mountain Lake Water & Mining Co., 177
 Sierra Valley, 249, 262
 Sigman, Puerto (Sidman), 328
 Simpson, George, 411
 Simpson, James, 173, 196
 Simpson's Ferry, Marysville, 195
 Simpson, Mrs. James, 253, 385; Bridge contract, 357
 Singer, Annie, 183, 192, 258, 360, 362
 Singer, Judge William, 59, 63, 72, 171, 172, 173, 195, 360, 361, 369
 Sixteen Mile House, 266
 Slavery, 132-34
 Slingerland, James, 59, 62, 69, 170, 256, 266, 267, 273, 288, 367
 Sloat, Commodore John D., 3, 11, 12, 13, 101, 121, 127, 353
 Smartsville, 56, 251
 Smith, Jedediah S., 4, 27, 88, 203, 204
 Smith, General Persifer, 144
 Smith's Flat, 309
 Smith's Gardens, near Sacramento, 278, 292
 Snowwhite, Edward S., 177, 199
 Snyder, Jacob P., 156, 158, 160
 Snyder, John, 349, 350
 Sonoma, Fremont's connection with Bear Flag revolt at, 105, 111, 114
 Sonora, lithograph of, facing 58; City Hotel, 45, 68; Long Tom Saloon, 45, 68
 South Park, San Francisco, 67
 Spalding, H. H., 402
 Spanish exploration, 80, 81, 88, 313-45
 Spanish Trail, *see* Santa Fe trail
 Spring Valley Water Co., 391
 Stages, Butterfield, 86
 Stanford, Leland, 78, 372, 377, 390, 392; inauguration as governor, 373, 387; biography by Clark, reviewed, 407
 Stanford, Mrs. Leland (Jane Lathrop), 379, 392
 Stanford University, 392, 407
 Stanton, C. F., 348, 350
 Stanwood, Richard G., 259, 270, 357
 Stark, James, 42, 52, 65, 246, 254, 260
 Stark, Mrs. James, 246, 260
 Starr, Colonel J. B., of Folsom, 293
 State Agricultural Society, *see* State Fair
 State Capital, movement to remove to Oakland, 72; to Sutterville, 391
 State Capitol, cornerstone laid by Masons, 282, 295
 State Fair, Sacramento, 196, 198, 361
 State General Hospital, Stockton, 67
 State government, organization of, 150-64; first legislature, 164; meets in San Francisco, 1861, 374, 388
 State Library, 53, 76
 State Prison, San Quentin, 276, 361, 373
 State Reform School, Marysville, 258, 265, 269, 273, 288, 375, 388
 State seal, 163
 Stearns, Abel, 409
 Steele, John A., 269
 Steep Hollow, Bear River, 349
 Stevens, Robert J., supt. of S. F. Mint, 294
 Stevenson, Col. J. D., 38, 203
 Stewart, George W., obituary of, 309-10
 Stewart, William M., 61, 78, 152
 Stidger, Judge O. P., 194, 385, 394
 Stockton, 150, 376, 403
 Stockton, Sheriff H. C., of Shasta Co., 71
 Stockton, Commodore Robt. F., 10, 17, 18, 22, 101, 118, 119, 121, 122, 353; letter to Castro, Aug. 7, '46, 120; attempts to organize government in Calif., 13-16
 Strain, Isaac, 180, 200
 Strain, James, 269
 Stratton, William C., 40, 44, 62, 67, 75, 76
 Strawberry Valley, 194, 255, 359
Struggle for Civil Government in California, 1846-50, Joseph Ellison, 3-26, 129-164, 220-244; bibliography, 243-44
 Subscription Ball, Invitation to, facing 48
 Sucker Flat, 55, 56, 251, 358
 Suisun Bay, 214, 405
 Sumner, General, 282, 295
 Sunday Law case, 362, 370
 Supreme Court, California, 273
 Sutter, Capt. J. A., 9, 90, 163, 292, 299, 348, 350; his "Hock Farm," 199
 Sutter, W. Alphonse, 177, 199
 Sutter's Fort, 9, 109, 111, 114, 298, 299, 301, 348, 350, 353
 Sutterville, petition to remove capitol to, 391
 Swamp Land Bill, 281, 294
 Swezy, Gabriel N., 183, 194
 Swisher, Carl B., *Stephen J. Field*, reviewed, 85
 Talbot, Dr. Jim, 265, 366, 381
 Taos, N. Mexico, 88, 90, 202
 Tarabal, Sebastian, 216
 Taylor, Alexander S., 91
 Taylor, Rev. George, 54, 55, 76, 190
 Taylor, J. H., actor, 386, 395
 Taylor, Zachary, 111, 220, 221, 231
 Teed, Dr., 172, 194
 Teegarden, Dr. Eli, 198, 264
 Teegarden, Susie, 251, 264
 Tejon Pass, 214, 215, 218; ranch, 77, 217, 388
 Temperance Hill, 251
 Tennent, John H., failure of, 362
 Tennent, Sally and May, 251, 264
 Terry, Judge David S., 63, 78, 85, 197, 199
 Texas, revolt, 5; becomes state, 111
 Thanksgiving Day proclamation, first in Calif., 135

- Theatrical productions: *Adrienne the Actress*, 55, 77; *The American Boy*, 376, 390; *Armand, or the Peer and the Peasant*, 57, 77; *Asmodeus*, 379, 392; *The Barrack Room*, 378, 391; *Bohemian Girl*, opera, 172, 195; *Bull in China Shop*, 246, 260; *Camaralzaman and the Fair Badoura*, 200; *The Chamber of Death*, 289; *Children of Cypress*, 376, 389; *Cinderella or the Little Glass Slipper*, 173, 196; *The Clockmaker's Hat*, 75; *Colleen Bawn*, 362, 370; *Damon and Pythias*, 386, 395; *The Dead Heart*, 260, 369; *The Fool of the Family*, 365, 371, 389; *The Fool's Revenge*, 254, 266; *Griselda*, 274, 289; *Hamlet*, 376; *The Hunchback*, 367; *Ingoimar*, 52, 75; *The Invisible Prince*, 178, 200; *Irish Ambassador*, 63; *La Tour de Nelse*, 174, 289; *Lady of Lyons*, 52, 75; *Love*, 275, 290; *The Love Chase*, 283; *Lucrezia Borgia*, 55, 77, 253, 265; *Mischief*, 47, 69; *The Marble Heart*, 42, 65; *The Mormon Prophet*, 255, 266; *The Naiad Queen*, 250; *Napoleon the Great*, 246, 259; *The Octoroon*, 376, 389; *The Pope of Rome*, 43, 65; *Pride of the Market*, 41, 63; *Queen of Spade's*, 47, 69; *The Red Rover*, 378, 391; *Richelieu*, 254, 266; *The Robbers*, 362, 370; *Seven Sons*, 381, 393; *Sybil*, 51, 75; *Three Fast Young Men*, 277; *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, 258, 269; *The Woman of the World*, 361, 370
- Thompson, Representative from Mississippi, 238
- Thompson, Waddy, U. S. Minister at Mexico, 6, 7
- Thornton, Harry I., 262, 274, 289
- Tilden, Mrs., boarding house, Sacramento, 288
- Tilden, Dr. W. P., 278, 279, 292
- Tilford, Frank, 191
- Tillamook Head, 328
- Timbuctoo, 55, 167, 247, 255, 265, 358; fire company, 251, 253, 258, 265; drawing of Hose Co. facing, 252; Union Club, 367
- Tobar y Tamariz, José, 317, 320
- Toledo, Cabo (Blanco), 329
- Toll House, 57, 77
- Tomales Bay, 319, 331, 334, 337, 338, 339, 340, 342
- Tompkins, S. C., 72, 167, 367
- Torres, Alonso de, 315
- Torres, Manuel, 90
- Traders and trappers in Calif. and the West, 3-4, 27-39, 88
- Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, 129, 142, 152, 153, 154, 233
- Trego, Laura, 252, 264, 381, 392
- Trinidad Bay, 318, 330, 335
- Truckee Lake (now Donner), 348
- Truckee River, 347, 348
- Tucker, Reasin P., 350, 351
- Turner, Bob, 253, 265
- Tuttle, Charles M., 412
- Tutusi, Punta de (Cape Flattery), 323, 324
- Twenty Rarest and Most Important Works Dealing with the History of California**, 79
- Tyler, John, 8
- Underwood, Dr. N. J., 43, 65
- Union Clubs, 283, 284
- Union Democratic State Convention, 1861, 356, 367
- Union Hotel, Camptonville, 359, 368
- Union Hotel, Sacramento, 53, 75, 174, 191
- Union Hotel, San Francisco, 198
- Union Hotel, Smartsville, 251
- Union meetings, 282, 284, 296; demonstration in San Francisco, 282, 295
- Union Resolutions, 272, 273, 274, 280, 281, 287, 288, 289
- Unitarian Church, First, San Francisco, 295
- United States Hotel, Marysville, 252, 257, 356
- University of California, 203
- Usury bill, 42, 63
- Valdes, Cayetano, 313, 315, 316, 324
- Valdes, Salvador Melendez, 338
- Vallejo, General Mariano, 9, 10, 89, 106, 114
- Vance, James, 274, 289
- Vancouver, Captain George, 88, 313, 314, 316, 320, 321, 325, 328, 335
- Vancouver Island, 323
- Varieties, The (Maguire's Opera House, San Francisco), 381, 393
- Vasquez, Tiburcio, 86
- Ver Mehr, J. L., 290
- Vernon House, 41, 63
- Vessels: *Activa*, 317, 321, 332, 333-36, 340; *Antelope*, 276, 282, 358; *Aranzazu*, 318, 322, 338, 340; *Argonaut*, 337; Boston ships, 3; *Brooklyn*, 298; *Chatham*, 325; *Chrysopolis*, 279, 293, 374, 375; *Collingwood*, 118; *Columbia*, 328; *Congress*, 120, 121; *Defiance*, 285, 297, 364, 371; *Descubierta*, 325; *Edith*, 145; *Ewing*, 411; *Fanny*, 99; *Gem*, 356, 367; *Gov. Dana*, 358, 372; *Goodman Castle*, 280, 293; *Horcasitas*, 317; *James Blair*, 271; *Jenny*, 328; *John T. Wright*, 285; *Mexicana*, 315, 316, 317, 320, 321, 333, 341; *New World*, 170, 193; *Oakland*, 50, 72; *Oregon*, 242; *Otter*, 320; *Petaluma*, 276, 373; *Portsmouth*, 105, 106, 111; *Princesa*, 340; *Queen City*, 50, 73; *Ruby*, 328; *Saginaw*, 389; *Santa Gertrudis*, 315; *Savannah*, 124; *Sutil*, 316, 320, 332, 334, 338, 339, 341; *Swallow*, 273, 283; *Tres Reyes*, 337; *Young America*, 281; see also Clipper ships
- Videau's, Marysville, 255, 267
- Vigil, Francesco Estevan, 33, 34, 35, 36
- "Villa Montalvo," Historical Society luncheon at, 307
- Villapando, Jesus, expedition of, 29, 30

- Vineyard, Elida, 56, 61, 69, 77, 179, 180, 185, 246, 259, 370, 372, 378, 395; portraits facing, 170, 378; letter to, 269; diary of, 386-87; married to C. E. De Long, 379, 391
- Vineyard, Col. James R., 60, 61, 77, 78, 192, 248, 253, 372, 374, 387
- Vineyard, Virginia, 169, 192; portrait facing, 170
- Vineyard, W. B., 183, 192
- Vinton, Stallo, 298
- Virginia City, 260, 266
- Vizcaino, Sebastian, 337
- Vizcaino, Cabo (Pt. Gorda), 330
- Wagoner, W. W., **The Donner Party and Relief Hill**, 347-52
- Wagner, H., & Co., 246, 260
- Wagner, Henry R., 79; rarest books selected by, 79, 83; **The Last Spanish Exploration of the Northwest Coast and the Attempt to Colonize Bodega Bay**, 313-45
- Wagon Road Bill, El Dorado, 51, 74
- Wakeman, Captain "Ned," 193
- Walker, Joseph, 4, 33, 38
- Walker, William, filibuster, 267
- Walsworth, Rev. E. B., 190, 198, 363; house bought by De Long, 361, 370
- Warfield, Dr. J. B., 174, 276, 290, 358, 373, 378, 381
- Warm Springs, Alameda County, 358, 368
- Warner, J. J., 28
- Warren Engine Co., Marysville, 54, 57, 165, 174, 179, 182, 200, 246, 250, 254, 257, 258, 259, 263, 265, 268, 285, 365, 380, 381
- Warwick, J. H., actor and lecturer, 274, 289, 382, 394
- Washburn, C. A., 268
- Washington, B. F., 257, 268
- Washington Grove, Yuba County, 165, 189
- Washoe, 89, 260, 372, 392, 395; massacre, 249, 262
- Water Works Hall, Marysville, 249, 252, 259, 262, 265
- Watkins, H. P., 72, 166, 191, 195, 285
- Watmough, Purser James H., 109
- Watson, Douglas S., 307; **Herald of the Gold Rush—Sam Brannan**, 298-301; **First Mail Contract in California**, 353-54; address, "More Yerba Buena Days," 91; editor of Powell's *Santa Fé Trail*, 406
- Watson, Senator, of Santa Cruz, 272, 273, 288, 289
- Weber, Charles, 7, 67, 125, 413
- Weber House, 44, 45, 67
- Webster, Daniel, 7, 142, 222, 226, 227, 228
- Weeks, William H., 252, 264
- Weller, Governor John B., 49, 52, 59, 71, 240, 260
- Western History**, a check list of recent items relating to California and the West, 86-90, 202-204, 302-6, 408-12
- Western House, Marysville, 261, 359, 369
- Wheat, Carl I., editor of "California's Bantam Cock," *The Journals of Charles E. De Long*, 40-78, 165-201, 245-97, 355-95; **Book Reviews**: Swisher, *Stephen J. Field*, 85, Benard de Russailh, *Last Adventure*, 205; *The Santa Fé Trail to California*, Powell's *Journal*, 406-7; Clark, *Leland Stanford*, 407
- Wheatleigh, Charles, actor, 362, 364, 370, 376, 389
- Wheeler, E. D., 173, 195, 198, 252, 266
- Whipple, Albert, club rooms, San Francisco, 381, 393
- White, Dr. T. J., 267, 296
- Whiteside, Ninian E., 59, 173, 253, 255, 256, 257, 367, 370, 394
- Whitman massacre, Wailaitpu, 402
- Whitney, Frank E., 77
- Wiegand, Conrad, 294
- Wildes, Green, funeral of, 277, 291
- Wilkes, Lt. Charles, 6
- Willapa Bay, 326
- Willows, The, San Francisco, 276, 282, 290, 379
- Wilson, Samuel M., 295, 296, 393
- Wiltsee, Ernest A., 306, 413; obituary of Boutwell Dunlap, 95; **The British Vice Consul in California and the Events of 1846**, 99-128
- Winkley, P. William ("Dutch Bill"), 362, 370
- Wolfskill, John, 31
- Wolfskill, William, 28
- Wood, Mrs., actress, 47, 69
- Woods, Matt, 165, 370
- Woodward's Gardens, San Francisco, 368
- Woolen manufacturers, San Francisco, 276, 291, 373
- Workman, Wm., and Rowland, John, company led by, 33, 34
- Wozencraft, O. M., 151
- Wright, Representative S. W., 163, 238
- Yerba Buena (San Francisco), 7, 19, 91
- Yosemite Valley, 88, 302
- Young, Ewing, 28
- Young Ladies' Seminary, Marysville, 287
- Young's Hill, 56, 63, 256
- Yuba City, 186, 360
- Yuba River, 347, 349, 352
- Yulee, Senator D. L., 231, 237
- Zabriskie, A. C., 170, 362, 370
- Zayas, *see* Martinez y Zayas

